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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1988

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16 March 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BRIEFS

ZSMP-FDJ MEETING--The special role of culture in the development of cooperation between the Free German Youth [FDJ] and the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] in bringing the people of both countries closer together was emphasized by Egon Krenz, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, during a meeting with a ZSMP delegation at the 12th Political Song Festival in Berlin. He asserted that the forces of counterrevolution and imperialist propaganda did not succeed in setting the two unions against one another in the period before 13 December 1981. Despite the curtailment of contacts between Poland and the GDR, both unions have maintained and developed the bonds of friendship of the young people of both countries. The talks and meetings of the ZSMP delegation, chaired by ZSMP Main Board Presidium member Andrzej Kozlowski, are a continuation of the reciprocal contacts recently made by the leadership of both unions. [By Jerzy Weber] [Excerpt] [Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 22 Feb 82 p 5]

CSO: 2600/352

## MILITARY SCHOOLS PROVIDE PRESTIGIOUS CAREERS FOR YOUTH

Prague LETECTVI A KOSMONAUTIKA in Czech 1981 V0057 NO025 pp 976-977

[Article by J.J.: "Service in the Czechoslovak People's Army Is the Most Honorable Responsibility"]

[Text] In the Military School Gallery series, we have acquainted the reader with the broad range of possibilities for applying the interests and hobbies of young people in choosing a profession through studies at military schools.

It would be misleading not to point out that a course of study at military high schools and colleges is demanding, just as it is at all schools of this type, but that it is masterable. The system of discipline and order, as well as the schedule at military schools is often understood as a certain difficulty and limitation on the freedom of youth. This interpretation is, however, simply erroneous. All students at military schools have enough time not only for difficult studies, but also have time set aside for socially useful work, for sports and cultural activities, as well as for a social life and for personal free time. The military school pedagogical committee is assisted in this educational work and in the educational-culturation process by the personal qualities of the students, their political and moral positions, their committed attitude, their frankness and directness in interpersonal dealings, their decisiveness and consistency, their just evaluation of circumstances, and a likewise very important consideration, "the congruence between interpersonal relationships and proclaimed principles."

The military school system is based on the reality that the performance of the functions within the Czechoslovak People's Army requires a corresponding general, professional, military and political education. Individual levels and types of military schools are linked organically together, and military schools offer a secondary education, a full secondary education and a college education in the ways required by specific functional categories. In addition to this, military colleges intensify and expand the education of those professional soldiers who have a college education by offering postgraduate studies. Military schools are an inseparable component of the Czechoslovak educational and culturation system and are regulated in their activities by the laws of the CSSR, by CSSR Government ordinances, by orders of the president of the CSSR, by CPCZ Central Committee resolutions and CSSR government resolutions and by Ministry of National Defense implementation regulations. From the above realities, it logically follows that study records and diplomas from all military schools, academic degrees and academic-pedagogical titles have the same nationwide validity as the same documents issued by civilian schools and institutions.

At all military schools, conditions are being gradually created for housing, for the educational study and culture process and training which will also be one of the assurances of the good preparation and training of pupils and students. Medical care provided in health service facilities is characterized by its high professional level, quality of organization and excellent assurance of medicines and health-care materials. It includes a system of measures for the avoidance of the possible outbreak of health disruptions, for their timely diagnosis and for the regular monitoring of the development of one's physical condition and the results of treatment.

Concern for the health of pupils and students at military schools comprises a unified system which includes not only the regular monitoring of their health and the above-mentioned high quality of medical care, but also all comprehensive measures necessary to maintain their good physical condition, a systematic and rigorous concern for their working and living conditions, concern that they receive good food, equipment and other amenities. It also includes measures to provide for increased concern for the positive effects of education, drills and other types of battle and political preparation of the health condition of the pupils and students and on the development of their psychological and physical abilities. An important factor in the creation and preservation of healthy living conditions is education in a disciplined approach to health matters, in living a healthy life and in the importance of active personal participation in a concern for health.

Providing for the material, financial and health care needs of students and pupils at military schools assists in achieving results in the educational-culture process and contributes to an increase in an interest in studying at military schools.

We all know that the current international political situation continues to be deeply divisive. This is an expression of sharp class conflicts between the interests of peaceful coexistence and the interests of reaction and the military-industrial complex of the imperialist countries. Recently, there is no doubt that much of a positive nature has been achieved in terms of peaceful efforts. The efforts of the countries of the socialist community and of other forces of progress and democracy, however, continue to run up against the stubborn opposition of the ruling circles of imperialism, and especially groups of military circles in NATO and elsewhere. That these forces still have a great influence is attested to by their further increases in military preparations. Ever greater resources are expended on armaments, military research and ideological diversions. More than 22 million people serve in the armies of our planet. More than 60 million people are directly or indirectly connected with military activity. In the United States alone, for every three soldiers there is an additional four people, civilians, who participate in one way or another in the arming process.

The program of feverish arming is also being assisted by those efforts which are reviving cold war tendencies, dealing in international relations from a position of strength and the utilization of many additional resources for political blackmail and the support of reactionary regimes, as demonstrated by events in Chile, Peru, in the Middle East and elsewhere.

We cannot take a carefree attitude to these and other phenomena. It is necessary to increase efforts for the strengthening of peace, for the assurance of security, the development of the policy of detente and the expansion of international



cooperation. The armies of the socialist countries have an irreplaceable position in this peaceful process, and this is also why, under the direct influence of the CPCZ Central Committee, our army also obtains all it needs for the fulfillment of its mission. Particular attention is being devoted especially to improving the quality of the political and professional preparation of the officer corps, the strengthening of its morale and the material evaluation of military service.

Certain citizens of our homeland do not realize or do not want to realize that the danger of a new war has not been eliminated. The policy of imperialism itself in the recent past has provided more than one piece of evidence concerning its no less aggressive base. A number of world events and concrete facts prove that certain imperialist circles, led by the new president of the United States, Reagan, have not yet rejected the use of military force in international politics, that numerous opponents of a reduction in tensions, advocates of a cold war and a feverish arms race, those who would gladly turn the wheel of history backward, still continue to exist and have placed themselves in the path of fulfillment even of these most noble objectives. For this reason, the process of detente in international political relations continues to be complicated by the ongoing militarization of the United States and the NATO countries.

It is no accident that the CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, Gustav Husak, declared from the podium of the 16th CPCZ Congress: "The Central Committee, the socialist state, has devoted great attention to the Czechoslovak People's Army. We can assure the congress, the entire party and all of our people that our army is a reliable defender of our borders and a staunch member of the Warsaw Pact Countries... Among our most important tasks is the strengthening and increasing of the defense capabilities of our country. We will continue to build up the Czechoslovak People's Army as an inseparable part of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact countries. We will spare no efforts and resources so that our army may become a completely modern army, completely devoted to the party and the people, capable of defending, along with the Soviet army and the armies of the other Warsaw Pact countries, peace and the achievements of socialism... In the interests of the preservation of peace and of favorable conditions for the building of a socialist society, we are doing everything within our power, in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, to strengthen the security of the socialist community, and so that the aggressive forces of imperialism not be able to reverse the current military strategic balance. We will strive to realize all peaceful initiatives worked out jointly and put forth by the socialist countries, which demonstrate before the entire world that socialism is the decisive force in the struggle of peoples for peace and international security."

These words were spoken because imperialism is still an exceptionally dangerous enemy, even though it has lost the historical initiative and can no longer determine the course of world events. A fundamental precondition for the defense of the achievements of the working people of our and the other socialist countries and for a continuation in the policy of a reduction in international tensions is the assurance of the defense capabilities of the socialist community, resting firmly on the Soviet Union. It follows from this that a defense capability is a categorical, objective requirement and historical necessity, and that the defense of our socialist homeland is the responsibility of all citizens.

## MI-8 HELICOPTERS PLAY LARGE ROLE IN CONSTRUCTION

Prague LETECTVI A KOSMONAUTIKA in Czech 1981 V0057, NO025, pp 974-975

[Article by A. Dytrych: "Mi-8 Helicopters in Slovair Colors"]

[Text] The use of helicopters to an ever greater extent in different branches of our national economy is demonstrating how well this technology may be applied even in areas which in the past have been accessible only to classical land modes of transport and communications. The first use of helicopters for rescue and evacuation assignments, as is well known, dates from World War II. The extensive experience of wartime pilots, expanded to include the transporting of cargo either in the helicopter cabin or in a sling, later found full application in the civilian sector. For us, later means from 1961, when the then branch factory of Czechoslovak Airlines--Agrolet--borrowed two Mi-1 helicopters from the Ministry of National Defense, as well as two Mi-4s. Until that time, helicopters had been used exclusively by the air force; from that time these military users had a follower, even if it was an enterprise which, at the beginning, had no great plans for itself; it decided to test the possibilities for the application of helicopters to areas as yet "uncharted aeronautically." Nor was this easy. It was necessary to acquaint themselves thoroughly with a new technology and to find appropriate work for it. During operational testing, the use of Mi-1 helicopters mainly for the inspection of high-tension electrical wires, geophysical research and for the needs of film makers was shown to be feasible. Helicopters of this type also passed several test flights with cargoes in slings, however with less success; the use of helicopters for these purposes, given the carrying capacity and operational costs, was shown to be uneconomical. Therefore, in the subsequent period Mi-2 helicopters were oriented to the above-mentioned activities, to which were gradually added medical flights and of television antennas. During the final testing period, the Mi-1 helicopters were also put to good use for the inspection of the transit gas pipeline on the entire territory of our republic.

Operational testing of Mi-4 helicopters likewise began in 1961. In terms of its carrying capacity this model was clearly more adaptable for the implementation of the intention of the enterprise management--assistance in construction assembly assignments. At the beginning, the Mi-4 helicopters were entrusted with the transportation of materials to inaccessible mountain areas. Even at this early stage a problem arose, as with the Mi-1s, caused by limited useful cargo capacity. The Mi-4 helicopter, to be sure, was capable of transporting cargo weighing 1,200 kilograms in a sling, but only under optimal conditions, and, taking into account that it was outfitted with only a single power unit, also without the required



performance reserves. For this reason, it was decided to use Mi-4 helicopters in the future mainly for the transportation of materials and only on exceptional occasions for construction assembly work.

The work described above was performed by Mi-1 and Mi-4 helicopters until 1967. At this time, our army took delivery into its arsenal of a much more modern and powerful helicopter, the Mi-8, outfitted with two turbo-shaft engines, and capable of transporting, by sling, cargoes weighing up to 3,000 kilograms. The introduction of this new type of helicopter within the air force of course also inspired other advocates of this multipurpose aircraft, such as Agrolet. On the basis of a year of operational testing, which the air force gladly shared with its imitator, negotiations began concerning the possibility of beginning operational testing of Mi-8 helicopters in the civilian sector. These negotiations came to an end at a time which corresponded to the founding date of the Slovair enterprise. Thus, this new firm began, in the first year of its existence, operational testing of the Mi-8 helicopter in the area of construction assembly work, in addition to its other endeavors. Until this time, these functions had been the entire responsibility of the ground technology, assemblers and management of the Chrudin Tramontaz enterprise. An enterprise which, however, was able very quickly to free itself from prejudices and to decide in favor of the more progressive method offered by this new technology. In this way, test flights of the Mi-8 helicopter took place with the cooperation of Slovair and Tramontaz, and under the "patronage" of the Military Research Center, whose pilots tested the helicopter thoroughly in all its flight and work-related maneuvers. After the tests, which were completed to the satisfaction of both of the future inseparable partners, the Slovair and Tramontaz enterprises, the Mi-8 helicopter began work as a "flying crane." There was no doubt that over time it would make a good name for itself and win over even the many conservative customers, but that this could not be counted on immediately...From the beginning, the Mi-8 helicopter worked on the basis of a contract concluded between Slovair and the Ministry of National Defense. One of the first projects entrusted to it was the construction and assembly of the chair lift running from Zelená Ruda to Spicak and Pancer. The crew at this work site in the course of 5 days (for most of which time the weather was poor), put in place with the aid of a helicopter a total of 35 chair-lift supports. The preparation and all of the work connected with the construction of the chair lift would have taken 37 working days using traditional techniques; thanks to the Mi-8 helicopter they took 10 working days. And the costs? To the full satisfaction of the client, they were Kcs 300,000 lower than the costs calculated and set aside for the utilization of traditional techniques.

To be sure, this was undoubtedly an example worthy of emulation, but this was not the case; at least not in 1968, the first year of activity for the "flying crane" and its work for the national economy. For a number of reasons, it covered only the most essential demands and flew only a few less-than-fully-productive hours.

In subsequent years, the situation in this regard changed significantly. The Slovair enterprise rented on a long-term basis one of the two Mi-8 helicopters of the Interflug airline. This was a wise and timely solution. The Chrudin enterprise, Tramontaz, had, you see, at this time begun to undertake construction assembly work with a helicopter on a systematic basis, and welcomed this initiative-taking solution of its coworker Slovair. The previous year, when the Mi-8 helicopter had only "worked off" 60 productive hours, had not been decisive in terms of deciding all of

the areas in which the helicopter could be applied in the future. It had been a matter of a helicopter which had been rented from the Ministry of National Defense on a case-by-case basis, so that it had not been possible to plan its utilization. Difficulties in the coordination of stages, in terms of client time demands, had also occurred during the time when Slovaír had at its disposal a helicopter rented from the GDR.

All of the difficulties in scheduling the work which Trámontaz wanted to perform with the aid of helicopters ended in 1973 when Slovaír took delivery of two new Mi-8 helicopters from the production factory, thus ceasing to be dependent on leasing arrangements. Before making them available through Trámontaz to customers, Slovaír employees gained the requisite knowledge and experience so as to be able to assure maintenance and safe operation. And since it was a matter of a new model, after careful consideration a "designated" team of pilots and technicians received 2 months of advanced training right at the production factory in the USSR. This was the absolute minimum which preceded the introduction of the Mi-8 helicopters. In addition, and even though both the flight and ground personnel were fully trained to run operations with these helicopters independently, Soviet experts assisted in maintenance and servicing operations for an additional 2 years.

Operation of the two Mi-8 helicopters in the Slovaír colors began to speed up in 1974. At first the two helicopters were used, in a planned fashion to be sure, only in situations where less demanding work was required; for the most part they transported various building materials and components to locations difficult to reach by conventional forms of transportation. One of these projects was, for instance, the transport of building materials for the renovation of the huts in the Slovak National Park, after which the helicopters also brought in the internal equipment and amenities. There were several such assignments over a short time period, and the Mi-8 helicopters handled them all to the full satisfaction of its mother enterprise, the coordinator and the client. These were, however, only minor, insignificant orders in terms of the current scale of the projects which the Mi-8 helicopters in the colors of Slovaír so easily perform. Today, the Slovaír enterprise assists with its "flying cranes" in many various branches of our national economy and has behind itself a huge amount of work which it has performed. Mi-8 helicopters have transported building materials of all kinds to outlying construction and work sites, prefabricated concrete components for various projects including the footings for chair-lift supports, and have installed heating and cooling units on many high buildings, as well as sharing in the assembly and disassembly of equipment, steel smokestacks, framed structures and television antennas. For Mi-8 helicopter pilots, it is no problem (nor is it an exceptional or special task which would surprise them) to spend a Saturday and a Sunday changing the cupola or the scrubbing equipment (the so-called trap) at a foundry. To the full satisfaction of the Tesla national enterprise, Trámontaz assemblers, in conjunction with an Mi-8 helicopter crew, assembled the framed structure, installed the bearing members of the roof frame and installed the piping for a hot-water heating system. Mi-8 helicopters have transported by sling probably all existing cargoes; among the "traditional" ones are the logs of forest trees which were cut down in inaccessible zones high in the mountains.

It is possible to say concisely and accurately that Mi-8 helicopters move, transport and install whatever is necessary and wherever necessary, that they simply assist

the national economy to the extent and degree to which they are able and in ways dictated by the projects undertaken by the Slovaair enterprise. The implementation of the projects which our enterprise takes on and which require aeronautical activity is today aided by an inseparable partner, the Chrudim Tramontaz enterprise. These two partners, who have on countless occasions in the past demonstrated it is possible to achieve even the impossible with good coordination, cooperation and initiative, are on the surface represented by assemblers, pilots, helicopters and, for the lay viewer, attractive work. In reality, far from the work sites, which are temporary and which have been, are, and will be at various locations throughout our republic, every working flight of an Mi-8 helicopter has behind it a lot of work by the nonflight personnel of Slovaair and the Tramontaz enterprise. And in view of the fact that the orders are piling up, this is work that is unending and far from simple. It is not exceptional that several clients are seeking to engage the helicopters at the same time, and it is a completely common occurrence that both helicopters are in action at once. A concrete example from the recent past: one Mi-8 was assisting in the assembly of laminated adapters at the newly constructed television transmitter at Krasov (work that had been extended in excess of the plan due to inclement weather), while the other Mi-8 was in action at Harrachova, where it transported to the designated location and assisted in the assembly of cabins on Obrí mustek.

The preparation for each project which is counting on the assistance of the Mi-8 helicopters of Slovaair is the responsibility of the Tramontaz enterprise, and specifically of its technologist. And what precedes the moment when the Mi-8 helicopter leaves its base in Bratislava and begins to fulfill the wish of the customer? The customer requests, whether directed to the Bratislava Slovaair enterprise or to Chrudim Tramontaz, are collected and registered at the Tramontaz enterprise. After research has been conducted at the client's premises, the technologist formulates the so-called "stage." Before one or both Mi-8 helicopters set off on their sometimes month long pilgrimage around the republic, the technologist must establish and design the technical approaches for the assurance of individual projects. These formulations are based on data which must be accepted by both enterprises (Slovaair and Tramontaz) and the crews of one or another helicopter: the location of work for the helicopter, the place where it will land and be parked, the type of work, data concerning the number and weight of cargoes, the way they will be fastened and, primarily, the assurance of all safety measures. These include locations for fire and medical apparatus and, in certain instances when it is a matter of work in the center of a city, the closing off of the area of activity to the public and to transport. The putting together of "stages" follows the formulation of individual technological procedures. This consists basically of putting the customers in sequence so that unproductive helicopter flights are eliminated, since these would have a negative impact on the final bill for the customer. In compiling this, ranking consideration is also taken of the importance of a given project from the national economic viewpoint.

The successful implementation of an entire "stage," and the timely and safe conduct of an assignment depends no less on the preparation of the Mi-8 helicopter and its crew. Nor is this work particularly evident during the work of an Mi-8 helicopter. However, its importance may be guessed by any slightly discriminating viewer when he finds out that the two Mi-8 helicopters in Slovaair colors "work off," on an annual basis, more than 300 productive hours on construction assembly work.

9276

CSO: 8112/0718



## CHRISTIAN-MARXIST DIALOGUE NECESSARY THOUGH THORNY

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 24 Jan 82 p 1

[Text] To many, the dialogue between Marxists and Christians may appear to be running smoothly ever since enunciation of the basic principle namely that seeking paths of cooperation in most areas of human and social life is possible despite differences in world view. However, some are of the opinion that perhaps it is not possible to arrive at the same conclusion from world views of differing approaches. Such persons rephrase the question: if the Christian wishes to be humane, using God as his reference point, will he not nevertheless be a less useful member of a society which considers man, and man alone, the supreme value?

The dialogue is made more difficult because one party knows that it has political power to back it up and that it represents the official viewpoint while the same can hardly be claimed by the other party. Even if both sides ignore actual differences and possibilities, and the best members of each concern themselves with the opportunities for understanding one another, there are always some who overstep the standards of equality set for the ongoing dialogue and want to arrive at a "joint view" by using the superiority conferred by authority. This possible or at least tempting behavior can lead to loss of assurance insofar as the other party is concerned.

In other cases, dialogue can bring to the fore superficial persons who agree to everything with an air of conviction which confuses even their "opponents." This leads to the impression that all is well and that we are witnessing uninterrupted progress.

If this were actually so, dialogue would be superfluous: it would suffice to wait patiently for matters to run their natural course. Those aware of the nature and goal of the dialogue always expect fundamental contradiction. Only those who dare bravely to point out shortcomings which arise in the course of cooperation, who do not confuse the ability of the power structure to function with the impetus generated by argument, only such persons favor the joint action program sincerely. Agreement is not born of bloody battles between irreconcilable competitors one of whom must inevitably be defeated; it results from mutual striving. "Power policy" cannot depend on permanent victory here, either.

In our pursuit of the common welfare, we cannot renounce each other. We cannot reject solidarity with those who, because of world views espoused through conviction, hopefully oppose turning the world into a peaceful home through the forces of inhumanity.

CSO: 2500/149

COUNCIL OF STATE RESOLUTION ON MARTIAL LAW

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 29, 14 Dec 81 p 317

[Resolution of the Council of State dated 12 December 1981 on the Declaration of Martial Law for Reasons of National Security]

[Text] In consideration of the threat to the vital interests of the state and nation, with a view to countering the further slackening of social discipline and establishing conditions conducive to the effective defense of public tranquillity and law and order as well as with a view to insuring strict observance of the law and respect for the principles of social harmony, pursuant to article 33, section 2 of the Constitution of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1976, No 7, item 36 together with subsequent amendments thereto), and also with reference to article 1, section 2 of the Decree of 12 December 1981 on Martial Law (DZIENNIK USTAW), No 29, item 154) and article 237 of the Law of 21 November 1967 on the General Duty of Service in Defense of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1979, No 18, item 111) the Council of State resolves as follows:

Section 1. For reasons of the national security and effective 13 December 1981 a state of martial law is declared to be in force throughout the territory of the Polish Peoples Republic.

Section 2. For as long as martial law shall remain in force the provisions of the Law of 21 November 1967 on the General Duty of Service in Defense of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1979, No 18, item 111) that apply in time of war are to be enforced, to wit:

- 1) as regards military service--the provisions of articles 110-117;
- 2) as regards civil defense service--the provisions of article 148, item 2 with reference to units and services belonging to civil defense formations specified by the Chief of National Civil Defense and the provisions of article 157;
- 3) as regards service in militarized units--the provisions of article 183 and articles 186-198;

4) as regards services rendered in support of the national defense--the provisions of articles 203-213;

5) as regards criminal liability--the appropriate provisions of part IX, chapter 1.

Section 3. This resolution enters into force on the date of its adoption.

Chairman of the Council of State, H. Jablonski.

11813

CSO: 2600/224



## SOME ASPECTS OF MARTIAL LAW CLARIFIED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 1, 3 Jan 82 p 20

[Article edited by Gabriel Trojanowski: "From the Military Postman's Mailbag"]

[Text] As a result of the recent introduction of martial law throughout our country, letters from readers are pouring in to the editors of ZOLNIERZ Polski asking for clarification of many of the most varied problems. Most questions pertain to the legal regulations that the law governs.

We will of course answer those letters to the extent possible, beginning now.

### Military Service Responsibility Under Circumstances of Martial Law

In light of the provisions of article 237 of the statute dated 21 November 1967 on the universal obligation to defend the Polish People's Republic, the introduction of martial law to protect the nation's security results in the application of regulations pertaining to the obligation of military service in the event of mobilization or declaration of war. Under the law, this means the replacement of basic military service, military training, military (exercises) and periodic military service by active military service. Active military service is based on the fact that it has no time limit. From that standpoint therefore, soldier discharges from hitherto existing basic military service, military training, military exercises and periodic military service are suspended until martial law is suspended.

During martial law, specified numbers of conscripts and military reserves may be called up for active duty at any time consistent with the needs of the armed forces. Other persons who have volunteered for such service in the course of voluntary recruitment can also be called up.

Military service deferments granted because of immediate care of a family member, recognition as sole breadwinner of a family, going to school, practice of a profession and farming, lose their validity under the law when martial law is imposed.

Release from active military service takes place if a military medical commission finds a soldier unfit permanently for military service, as well as upon the issuance of a directive by the Minister of National Defense that abolishes martial law. Release from military service can also take place if a military medical commission finds a soldier temporarily incapable of military service or in the case of an appeal.

Reserve soldiers and conscripts on active military duty when martial law is effective have special rights defined in a Council of Ministers directive, primarily allowances for the support of members of their families.

Persons who do not report for military service by the date and in the place specified, including failure to report in order to defer or evade completely this service responsibility are subject to punitive action and in danger of imprisonment for not less than 2 years or the death penalty.

#### Service in Civil Defense

Because of the state of the nation's security, in incident with the introduction of martial law, the nation's civil defense chief issued a directive on the subject of performing active service in civil defense during martial law. The obligation to perform active duty in civil defense pertains to persons who have organizational-mobilizational allotments in the following civil defense formations and services that enter into such formations: civil defense detachments in which conscripts perform essential service in civil defense; specialized first-aid detachments; specialized technical detachments; those segments of institutions and local civil defense units involving the command and services of such units; fire-fighting, medical-health, maintenance of law and order and technical rescue.

With the exception of conscripts performing basic civil defense work, persons with organizational-mobilizational allotments in the civil defense units mentioned should immediately report for service as indicated in the civil defense unit's commandant, and perform the functions assigned by his superior from the standpoint of service.

Members of young men's labor brigades and persons taking part in civil defense exercises in the units named continue serving consistent with instructions received.

Members of the civil defense units named and young men's labor brigades hitherto serving in a system without barracks may, when so ordered by the appropriate minister or governor, be housed in barracks. In that event they are entitled to cost-free food.

Active service in civil defense with respect to time and period is dependent on the duties assigned, while in specified formations there is no fixed time frame.

Persons performing active duty in civil defense are responsible for the full and complete performance of duties assigned by superiors as the result of such service in matters connected with the performance of civil defense tasks.

Persons called into active civil defense service who do not report for such service by the time and at the place specified, fail to perform their duties for an overly long period or altogether fail or refuse to perform or refuse to obey an order to their superior related to service matters, are subject to a penalty ranging from 2 years of imprisonment to the death penalty inclusive.

## Service in Militarized Units

To assure the nation's safety coincident to the declaration of martial law, the National Defense Committee issued a resolution pertaining to the militarization of specified organizational units of national administration and national economy. See TRYBUNA LUDU and ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI of 14 December 1981 for a full and detailed statement.

Consistent with the resolution's regulations on the universal obligation to defend the Polish People's Republic, individuals employed in organizational units covered by militarization are considered called to service in the militarized unit by force of law. The hitherto existing relationship of such persons to their work was suspended during martial law.

The performance of service in a militarized unit means that a person performing such service is obliged to execute the instructions of his superiors in service matters, which are tantamount to an order under military service conditions in time of war; a person performing service cannot unilaterally dissolve a service relationship with the unit in which he serves; release from service in a militarized unit takes place only in the event of lack of capability to perform work or attainment of age 65 by a man and age 60 by a woman.

Persons performing service in militarized units or called to serve in them are subject to penal liability for violations associated with such service in accordance with the regulations applicable to soldiers in accordance with the regulations applicable to soldiers on active duty in the event of the declaration of mobilization or during a time of war. A person who does not report for duty by the time and place specified or in the event of a prolonged or total avoidance of the obligation to perform service or failure to perform or refusal to execute a superior's instructions, is subject to a penalty ranging from imprisonment for 2 years to the death penalty inclusive.

## Tightened Penal Procedures

In order to assure increased protection of fundamental national interests and citizens, penal procedures have been tightened. This is regulated by a separate Council of State decree on special procedures in the case of violations and offenses during a period when martial law is in effect. It provides for three types of procedures: court martial, simplified and summary.

Voivodship or military (district or armed service) courts make decisions in cases subject to the court martial procedure. The verdict handed down under this procedure is legally valid; consequently an appeal is not vested. The penalties are very high, from imprisonment for a period of not less than 3 years to the death penalty inclusive. Court martial justice pertains to the most serious and particularly dangerous violations.

The simplified procedure pertains to less serious violations for which the penalty is up to 3 years of imprisonment. It is based on the elimination of certain procedural activities. The indictment, for example, does not require full and broad justification.

The summary procedure pertains to actions for which the penalty is up to 2 years of imprisonment and a fine of up to 100,000 zlotys.

#### Provisional Arrest and Internment

The basic differences between provisional arrest and internment boil down to the formal legal principles of utilizing both of these forms of deprivation of freedom.

A provisional arrest constitutes a procedural preventive measure anticipated in the rules of the Code of Penal Procedure and is used against persons suspected or accused of committing violations. The purpose of a provisional arrest is to safeguard the proper progress of the penal procedure.

On the other hand, internment is an administrative means of constraint anticipated in special regulations pertaining to martial law. Internment is utilized solely with persons who in the light of their past conduct rouse the justified suspicion that remaining free they will not abide by the laws or will carry on activity that threatens the security of the state or of national defense (article 42 of the decree of 13 December 1981 on martial law).

Procedures and decisions in cases involving internment are administered by the voivodship commandant of the Citizens' Militia (MO) as an organ of national administration. A decision on internment can be set aside at any time, including during martial law, after termination of the reasons for its issuance.

By way of supplementation, let us add that the internment procedure can be utilized with reference to a person 17 years old.

#### Who Will Benefit From an Act of Grace?

The decree issued by the Council of State on pardon and consignment to oblivion of certain violations and offenses (also called a decree on abolition) is an act whose purpose is to make it possible for all citizens who had previously come into conflict with the law to join in active participation in the country's life. It covers violations and offenses committed for political reasons, among others, in connection with a strike or protest action before 13 December 1981.

Criminal procedures will not be initiated in cases that are pardonable. Criminal proceedings will also be discontinued where the accused has discontinued his lawbreaking activity and has voluntarily pledged to observe the law and respect the principles of social coexistence. The regulations do not cover a legally valid verdict already in effect.

Previously, discontinued criminal procedures against persons who took advantage of the act of grace and again commit similar violations during the course of a year will be renewed.

Activities of a hooligan nature are not covered by the above decree's act of kindness.

#### Attention

All of the basic norm prescribing acts regulating martial law were published in DZIENNIK USTAW No 29, 14 December 1981.

10433

CSO: 2600/262



## BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATIONS UNDER MARTIAL LAW DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 15 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Maj Adam Glowacki: "When the Wind of History Blows"]

[Text] The introduction of martial law on 13 December of last year was met with a feeling of relief among comrades from the unit of Anti-Aircraft Defense Corps, with full approval for a resolute soldier's "enough!" that had been sounded many times. The decision of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] reinforced their conviction of being right in passing a resolution on a party meeting before that decision was made--a resolution stating: according the government extraordinary constitutional powers in order to arrest decisively the anarchy in life, which is progressing daily, is the order of the moment. Delaying the decision further would threaten immeasurable consequences and would compromise the security of the country.

This is evident. It is as if people have become calmer, more active, aggressive, optimistic. When the wind of history blows--Capt Jan Majcher, secretary of the party organization, quotes the words of a poet--people grow wings like birds, while greenhorns are in a blue funk....

Today many of them are asking themselves only one question: Why so late, couldn't it have been done earlier? They are asking this because they are aware of how much this peculiar time of delusion and political demagogy of pseudotrade unionists of Solidarity has cost us and of who will have to cover this cost now.

Within the unit, in its subunits, these costs are not felt all that strongly so far, because the army has an efficient quartermaster's service doing everything it can to keep the economic crisis of the country from making any impact here. The situation is worse in blocks populated by professional military personnel "on state support."

Despite a sad situation, people here are not distracted from matters of great importance that make the heart beat faster by the down-to-earth matters confined in the triangle service-store-house--Service: will the watch go smoothly? Store: will they ever supply these boondocks with anything? House: when will they start heating properly? They do not stoop to such matters because they are conscientious, responsible people for whom the quality of soldiering is the foremost criterion of value for each person of each specialized unit.

## Common Denominator for All Actions

Combat readiness is the common denominator for all actions, whether it is service, private, party or social activities. In an anti-aircraft defense unit, it assumes a special significance; it is compressed to mere minutes. Combat readiness pervades the life of everybody from private to colonel throughout the day.

They are said to be soldiers of the first 5 minutes. They have become accustomed to this description, because they know it involves little exaggeration. They think and act quickly, very quickly. Everybody must adopt this mode of action. This is the requirement of their service.

Favorable service characteristics spill over into party activity. The forms of this activity influence significantly the thinking and actions of [party] comrades. It should be said with due objectivity that their task is not an easy one. Conditions for organizational activities are harder than anywhere else. In a "regular" regiment, it is enough to look out the window in order to get people together, to draw something up jointly, to make a decision. In an anti-aircraft defense unit, this would not work, since subunits, party organizations and people are far apart.

Comrade Majcher has run into this problem more than anyone else. Several months ago, he came from the field to assume the secretaryship in accordance with the will of his comrades. He still remembers what his life in service was like in the field, often in godforsaken boondocks. If the style of his activities is any indication, he will not forget it soon. It is difficult to reach him at his desk; he feels at his best in the field, under the fire of questions, among people and their tough problems.

## Basic Party Organizations [POP] Live at a Quickened Pace

This pace is set by the state of martial law, combat missions of small units, requirements of the PZPR statute and postcongress documents. Peculiarities of service and party work cause these comrades to form tightly knit, ideologically involved collectives, which can communicate without high-minded pronouncements. These collectives are dominated by work at the roots and individual work with party members. Exemplary attitudes of particular comrades influencing the rest to constantly dressing organizational ranks are characteristic of the collectives.

Their work is based on the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR and the content of the proclamation of the Military Council of National Salvation. The ideas contained in these documents have become the basis for broadly defined party work.

It has been accepted with full approval and satisfaction. Until recently, they were overpowered and overwhelmed by the excess of contradictory PZPR congresses [sic] and the content of counter-pronouncements and denunciations. Now they have finally understood that the time of deception is gone for good and that everything should be done in order to rally around this line the largest possible number of supporters.



December 13 has started a new stage in the life and activities of PZPR, of its lower echelons. In the Basic Party Organization (POF), the comrades could find little fault with themselves. Nonetheless, they decided that they must live at a quicker pace than they were used to, they should be more resolute and persistent in action, they must reinforce by everyday actions the ideas and convictions that they propagate.

Examples illustrating the growth of activity of party members are many--in service and outside the service, in party and social work.

#### In the Mirror of the Secretary's Notebook

The secretary's notebook reflects like a mirror the manifestations of party activity of WOPK [Anti-Aircraft Defense Corps] members. Among organizational instructions, agitation and propaganda tasks dominate, which, among other things, are aimed at finding candidates and new members for POF.

The secretary says that after a certain cadre slump, there is finally some movement. He is not overly surprised by this slump, though he counteracted it with everything in his power. Waves of people turning in party membership cards in civilian organizations were still vivid in the minds of conscripts, who are the main objects of interest for particular POFs. The first wave came in the fall of 1980, which can be called the post-August shock; the second, in the summer of last year due to the hopes attached to the congress, which were not met. These sights cannot be easily erased from one's memory.

The search for candidates was started among the ZMP [Socialist Union of Polish Youth] aktiv, exemplary soldiers and soldiers with working-class backgrounds, who have worked in industrial enterprises prior to service. The most experienced comrades, who can come eye to eye with reality and establish rapport with the youth, have been assigned to this important party activity--comrades Wiesław Podbielski, Zbigniew Dydak, Jan Dydzinski and others. Twenty-four-hour shifts of combat duty, frequent stays of party members with persons in their charge and finally the credibility of their ideas and the skill of argument have all brought the intended effect.

However, this growth did not come as easily as we used to say in the not-so-distant past. Everything depended on how high the standards were set. It is clear that they could not be set too low--we are breaking with the make-believe--but neither could they be set too high.

Let us say it sincerely: If we set the standards proceeding from 100 percent confidence and trust, who would fit? What would be the share of enthusiasts and, conversely, of those who are given credit and are said to be able to become real people in the near future?

#### 24 Have Been Selected

Of a group including at least two times that number, 24 persons have been selected. The rest must wait but not passively. Preparatory activities will go on as before; however, their format and content will be changed. There will

be a switch from individual training to programmed group training in the Knowledge about the Party Circles (Kola Wiedzy o Partii).

For several days, they have been addressing as "comrade" Lts Ryszard Skibiński and Adam Krawiec, Privates 1st Class Tadeusz Peckiewicz, Jerzy Krawczyński, Tadeusz Kejrys, Zbigniew Antczak and Zbigniew Bilinski. The title "comrade" does not confer any privileges but rather entails increased duties and additional tasks.

They joined the ranks of PZPR during an especially troubled time. The state of martial law brought out in them a determination that might surprise some but also testifies that there is no lack of upright, modest and courageous people, people who aspire for a great Poland--a Poland great in its achievements, culture, forms of political life and position in Europe. Socialism accepted by the society and permanently enriched by the experience of life is the only way to this goal. It is this Poland that they want to build. It is this Poland that they will protect.

9761

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## EXILE VIEWS MARTIAL LAW IN HISTORICAL LIGHT

PM171515 Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 9 Feb 82 p 14

[Slawomir Mrozek "Open Letter": "Letter From a Pole"; passages in slantlines printed in italics; first paragraph is unattributed introduction]

[Text] The letter below was written by Slawomir Mrozek, who is perhaps Poland's best known dramatist and who now lives in exile in Paris. It has the title "Letter to Foreigners." For reasons which will be clear, the translator wishes to remain anonymous.

Everyone knows what happened in Poland during the night of 12-13 December and what is still going on there. But in order to be able to understand what one knows it is also necessary to know that:

Events in Poland are not a "state of emergency proclaimed in the spirit of the Polish Constitution"--the government's official version of what has happened. They are neither a "coup d'etat" nor a "military coup"--a description used by those who do not agree with the official version. To put it another way: What is happening in Poland is neither an exception nor anything new in Poland.

The "emergency" concept presupposes that everything before 13 December was normal. In Poland nothing was normal. Nothing has been legitimate there since 1939--first through the German occupation, and then immediately after by the Soviet Union's forcing the communist system on the country. All this with the blessing--or at least a lack of opposition--from the Western powers. Nothing in Poland has been normal for 36 years, right up to the present day. What is taking place in Poland is merely a continuation, not a state of emergency. However, it is not completely new or completely normal. The only new thing in the present situation is that all that has happened hitherto under the cloak of lies--for example, the lie of a parliamentary form of government in Poland--is continuing now as the naked truth, that is, as the exercise of bald power. Instead of saying that "it is continuing to happen" one should say: "Things have returned to their point of departure after turning full circle in the last 36 years."

It is not true that the army is the third--neutral--power factor between the party and Solidarity, or between the party and society. Without using the army, the party is quite simply no longer in a position to exercise dictatorship over the nation. The party is /too weak/. By imprisoning former party leaders, who

were stripped of their power long ago—or at least by issuing an official communique about their imprisonment—and at the same time by imprisoning Solidarity's leaders, the same party has attempted a propaganda trick.

It is also an example of how one can make use of one's /own garbage/.

In the event of General Jaruzelski's arresting the present first secretary of the party—that is, himself—his claims that he has taken up a neutral position might be credible.

It is not true that what is happening in Poland—what has been going on since 1945—is merely an internal Polish affair. This is not a conflict within the Polish family. If you make this assertion, it means that you are assuming that Poland is an independent country, a sovereign state which rules itself. However, everyone knows that, without superior Soviet power and Soviet interference in Polish internal affairs, postwar Polish history would be very different—to say nothing of the present catastrophes. If the Communist Party continues to rule in Poland, it is only with the /support of the Soviet Union/. When the West's statesmen repeat phrases about Polish problems which the Poles must resolve themselves, these statesmen are using the language which suits their diplomatic purposes, but they are indirectly subscribing to a lie. They are subscribing to /the lie of Poland's independence/ and Soviet noninterference.

It is not true that Poland was threatened by a civil war. An armed clash between two sections of the same nation supporting different ideologies—that is what a civil war is.

However, if there are any communists at all in Poland—apart from a few pathological cases—they are no longer motivated by a deep and honest faith in the communist dogma. They are motivated by opportunism and self-deception. For the most part these are people who have staked everything on the system, who would be nothing without the system and who have gone so far in the service of the system that they no longer have—or believe that they no longer have—any way back.

The overwhelming and, therefore, dominant section of the population is not communist, if it is not directly anticommunist. Poland's life is threatened not by civil war but by a superior armed power, reprisals born outside but spreading inside the country's borders, under the false flag of civil war. It is not true that Solidarity carries the blame for the Polish crisis. What has been given the name "Solidarity" is a general social, national and popular reaction to the causes of the crisis, and it is being combated by what goes under the name of "the party," that is, the communist system.

The use of the army is no way to combat the crisis; just the opposite. It is an attempt to preserve the causes of the crisis, or an attempt to defend and maintain the communist monopoly of power in Poland. This monopoly, this power has never been legitimate in Poland, that is, it was never chosen through the free will of the people. Therefore, the present regime cannot be defended and maintained through legal and democratic means. When the present regime attempts to retain its position by openly resorting to arms, it gives proof of its illegitimacy. The injustice this regime is committing is its original sin.

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## SERIES ON FINAL MEETING OF SOLIDARITY LEADERS CONTINUED

LD131508 Warsaw PAP in English 1408 GMT 13 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Jan (PAP)—In the ninth instalment of a series of articles on the evolution of Solidarity's policies in the last weeks before the imposition of martial law in Poland, TRYBUNA LUDU daily today gave an account of the 12 December debates of the union's National Commission in Gdansk. Excerpts:

"Confrontation—This word occurred most frequently in speeches delivered by Solidarity activists on 12 December 1981. The issue was finally sealed, and what remained were the questions about the methods of carrying it into effect. Disputes concerned the choice of items to be included in an all-national referendum, e.g. dates for setting up a provisional government, new electoral law and principles for making electoral lists.

"Actually, for those who debated in the Gdansk shipyard the legal state authorities ceased to exist. After long and laborious preparations the time had come for the last move—self-appointment as new rulers of 'self-governed republic.'

"The successors of People's Poland' in the heat of zealous discussions outdid one another in challenging the authorities and improving the confrontation scenario.

"There was no time to waste. Solidarity was a long (?way) from the popularity it enjoyed in August 1980. It was becoming evident that people were getting tired of the crisis, tensions, strikes and demonstrations which were assuming increasingly extremist forms including anti-state public meetings."

"As time was passing, increasing terror transpired from the conference room. Nothing, literally nothing was holding down those who claimed power and high posts, who pushed towards confrontation disregarding everyone and everything. The stake was high and the society was to pay the price.

"It was not worth while to trouble one's head about the results of surveys obtained by the socio-professional center which proved that 51 percent of members do not approve of the confrontation announcement and about one-third of all members 'clearly parts with the Solidarity tendencies and in principle approves of the authorities' views.'

"Neither did anyone pay attention any longer to Lech Walesa who spent hours in the lobby.

"The resolution prepared by Rulewski was passed by majority vote with five votes against and four abstentions. ...During the voting Walesa stayed alone in another room.

"The National Commission's meeting ended at 0.50 [as received] on 13 December. Its participants and observers left the Gdansk shipyard. They were to go to their regional branches and carry confrontational resolutions into effect...."

CSO: 2020/32



## PROSPECTS FOR FORMER NZS MEMBERS DISCUSSED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 12-14 Feb 82 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Godula: "Questions Which Should be Answered by Oneself"; (for cross-reference, see "NZS POLITICAL ACTIVITY CRITICIZED", published in JPRS 75988, 1 February 1982, No 1970, pp 39-42); passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /The last issue of our newspaper, published before the proclamation of martial law, contained my article, "Where Are the Students", pertaining to the activities of the Independent Association of Students (NZS). In it I cited many examples, from my own journalistic experience, of the organization's manipulative activities which were not in the best interest of the students./

In the article I asked whether, indeed, tens of thousands of students belonging to the NZS were conducting anti-socialist and anti-Soviet activity. The answer was: definitely not. A small group of activists from the headquarters of the organization and from individual schools were doing this in their name. The activists themselves said that they oppose the political system under which they are living. And being an opponent of the political system is something entirely different than being an opponent of specific bad occurrences in public life.

I then said that the NZS, although it had its Congress a long time ago, does not have a program of its own. It is high time, I appealed, that such a program, reflecting the genuine aspirations of all NZS members, was prepared. Otherwise the organization's activities will continue to be directed by a small group of activists whose own personal ambitions and considerations are more important than the interests of the academic community and society as a whole.

## 1.

/When martial law was proclaimed, the activities of the NZS, just as those of other student organizations, were suspended on the strength of the order of the chairman of the Council of Ministers. Unfortunately, the NZS activists did not cease their "activities". In some schools they attempted to organize strikes, published appeals that were in conflict with the law, and distributed leaflets containing false information. Many NZS activists participated in strikes in their workplaces.

In consequence, on January 5th, the head of the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, made the decision to dissolve the NZS./ The press announcement stated that the leaders of NZS, from the time it was formed, and contrary to the interests of the majority of the organization's members, violated the principles embodied in the statute and the obligations that they had voluntarily assumed. The statute, let us recall, declared that the NZS will be an apolitical organization, whose main goals will be the defense of the material, social and cultural interests of the students and their families, the enhancement of democracy in the academic community, and the development of self-government and autonomy in the higher schools.

The announcement emphasizes that the NZS, during its brief history, regularly violated the constitution of the Polish People's Republic and other legal regulations. This was done by conducting activity striking at the foundations of the political system of our country and its alliances; slandering the leadership of the socialist state; aspiring to form a new international, anti-socialist student organization; and printing, duplicating and distributing illegal publications, pamphlets and periodicals containing anti-socialist and anti-Soviet material. Another evidence of the rejection of the existing legal order was the constant undermining of the justness of student military training and calling for boycotts of lessons in military studies.

/It is unequivocally clear from the announcement that the NZS was dissolved not because its previous activities were directed against the regime and the state, but mainly because its activists did not cease their activities after martial law was proclaimed, despite the fact that the organization had been suspended. In other words, it can be assumed that had it not been for this "activity" by NZS activists, during a state of martial law, the organization, though suspended, could have continued to exist, and would have had an opportunity to conduct a "self-examination"./

## 2.

Was the diagnosis contained in my December article accurate? I believe that it was, even though I have met with the opinion that I am merely repeating the time-worn argument that "the leadership has lost touch with the membership". But it is hard not to use a time-worn argument when it fits the circumstances so perfectly.

In any case, the division into aktiv and members was clearly pointed out in the announcement on the dissolution of the NZS. "The NZS leaders", the document reads, "strived to disturb the peace and the normal operation of the schools, creating and adding to tensions, thereby attacking the fundamental rights and interests of the entire academic community, including those of the members of its own organization."

/Does all of this mean that the rank-and-file members of the organization were blameless? No, not at all./ They were to blame because they agreed to be active in, and sometimes only to belong to, an organization which had no program, no clear planned tasks, no precisely defined principles of operation, aside from the general formulations of the statute. Because there was no program, there was no way in which the effectiveness of the organization's work could be analyzed, for there was nothing with which to compare what was done. Such a situation promotes confusion among the members and enhances the absolute power of the leaders. And that was exactly what mattered in the NZS.

/The rank-and-file members of the NZS are to blame because they did not check on their leaders. They handed over to them the power in the organization, bestowed their confidence on them, but did not follow up to see how they were discharging the mandates entrusted to them. Were they conducting, as the statute proclaims, apolitical activity, in conformance with the interests of the community, and promoting the development of the schools? These questions never even entered the minds of many of the organization's members. Others, to be sure, had their doubts, but they never discussed them in public in their concern for the misconceived authority of the NZS, which was also, in their opinion, so constantly violated by the "regime propaganda"./

I am sorry to say that the NZS did not invent any of these phenomena. In many organizations, more important than this one, the membership, as we well know, was enveloped by a deep apathy after an unprecedented liveliness before the election of the leadership. It was said then, that the members simply trusted their elected leaders. In actuality, this was not confidence but passiveness, leading to isolation of the leadership, which, as time went on, stopped understanding the interests of the members. Or they did not understand them from the beginning, and thanks to the apathy of the rank-and-filers, could calmly further their own private goals. And then, sooner or later, the tragedy began to unfold. It is precisely such a tragedy today that has befallen the members of the late NZS.

### 3.

/An extremely important question: what next? The NZS was dissolved but its members remain. Regardless of the degree of their identification with the organization, they had some definite expectations of the NZS and joined it with the idea that their needs and aspirations would be fulfilled./ They now cannot count on another Congress convening. They cannot demand explanations from the headquarters and ~~from~~ the school leaders, so as to be able, based on these explanations, to undertake the job of completely transforming the face of the organization.

In the announcement already quoted, the management of the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, "expresses the belief that the members of the former NZS will correctly evaluate the leaders and extremists of this organization, who abused their trust in implementing their own political goals. By quietly resuming their studies and respecting the law, they can be sure of their student status. Like other students, they will be able to acquire knowledge and take part in the social life of the academic community".

I urge them to reflect upon this. The NZS members must evaluate the activities of their organization, think through their part in its functioning, reexamine the conformity of their own desires and intentions with the desires and intentions of the NZS leaders. Such "mental work" must take place as soon as possible. This "self-searching" cannot go on for years, because after a certain time it becomes merely a sterile "reopening of the wounds", interfering with normal life.

The organizational model of student life is not predetermined. The students themselves will decide it. /I do not believe that anyone who wants to participate constructively in the life of the school and the country will be at a loss for

something to do. At the same time, I am certain that there will be no place for those whose purpose is simply to disorganize and who want to call for, or who are already calling for, passive resistance. Resistance against what? Against learning, the acquisition of knowledge, the study of scientific works? Such "passive resistance" can only lead to failing grades in examinations and dismissal from school. And then again someone will speak out in the interests of the academic youth.../

Am I reviving the old slogan, "students, back to your studies"? Yes, for it continues to be topical, but I understand it like this: student learning is based on acquiring professional and specialist skills on the one hand, and general knowledge on the other hand, making it possible to understand the mechanisms of social life. More than that--an indispensable component of this learning is action, proving oneself in the accomplishment of specific tasks. That is, activity in student organizations. All of this so that later, after completion of studies, one does the right thing at the right moment on the job and is not helpless in the face of life's problems. And these problems are not as simple as they may appear from the student's perspective.

/Did the leaders of the NZS take such elements of learning in school into account? I am afraid that they did not. A detailed answer to this question, however, should be the starting point in the private reflections of every member of the former Independent Association of Students. In asking, what did the NZS do for me, one should also ask, what did it not do for me. And is this good, or bad. These questions should be answered by oneself. Truly by oneself./

9295

CSO: 2600/334



## 'TRYBUNA LUDU' COMMENTARY ON ARMY-PARTY RELATIONS NOTED

LD231328 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 23 Jan 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Let us start with a commentary which appeared on the front page of TRYBUNA LUDU. Stanislaw Reperowicz writes about the party members in army uniforms. In the unusually difficult struggle of the patriotic forces to get the country out of the crisis the soldiers of our army occupy a special place. There are many PZPR members among them, proportionally more than in other milieus.

However, it is not the index of quantity, important though it is, that describes the respect for the party organizations in the Polish People's Army. It emerges from the experiences of the Polish and international workers' movement that the credibility of the party, its ability to undertake action and to lead, are directly dependent on the attitudes of its members, on their ideology and devotion, on their honesty and reliability, on their high moral standards in the broad sense of the word, their sense of justice, and on the practical application of the noble aims of socialism in everyday life, at one's place of work and in one's family. The author stresses that people of that description have shaped the profile of the party organizations in the armed forces. They are also influencing their actions now.

Stanislaw Reperowicz points out that the experiences of the party in the army have received high assessment throughout the country. He recalls that during the conference preparing the 9th Extraordinary Party Congress a large group of communists in army uniforms was elected for the posts of secretary of PZPR committees in parishes [gmina], in cities and in voivodships. This trust was confirmed by the delegates to the 9th congress, who, during the fourth plenary session, entrusted the function of the first secretary of the party Central Committee to the front line soldier, the highest army commander, the party activist in army uniform, to Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

CSO: 2600/354

## PAST DECADE OF POLISH-FRG RELATIONS ASSESSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Dec 81 p 7

[Article by Marian Podkowski: "Polish People's Republic (PRL) and the FRG-- Reality and Prospects"]

[Text] As of 7 December 1981, we entered the second 10-year period of diplomatic relations with the FRG. Thus, we have 10 years of theory and practice connected with the normalization of mutual relations, indicating both progress and hindrances in our effort to attain normalization in full measure.

Such then was the foundation of the agreement on basic normalization, which European opinion during the detente period also regarded as a milestone on the road to strengthening peace on the continent. Without the conclusion of this agreement, it would have been useless to talk about realizing the final act of the Helsinki Agreement. Also, the acceptance of both German states into membership in the UN would have presented more than ordinary problems.

## An Uphill Process

Poland, recognizing the importance of eliminating the last sources of dangerous tensions in the international arena, adopted the actual state of affairs of Europe as the basis of the December 1970 negotiations. A quarter century after the defeat of the Third Reich, Poland also wanted the FRG to recognize the European status quo. We were concerned with the elimination of the existing tensions, the remnants of the cold war of the era of Dulles and Adenauer, that had presaged nothing good for Europe. What was involved here was the interest of all of Europe, which also concerned the FRG.

It appears that the Willy Brandt and Walter Scheel government, in effecting a so-called new Eastern policy (in contrast to Adenauer's Ostpolitik), was well aware of how much political benefit would result from the normalization of relations with Poland. It made possible a departure from the political and diplomatic impasse of the Erhard and Kissinger era. The policy of the Brandt government, continued by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, was based on the new European reality, which is searching for a way out of the cold war constraints. This reality was reinforced during the past 10 years, even though the road to full normalization continues to be rocky and full of pitfalls.

But from the very beginning, Poland had not expected the normalization process to be easy. Too many reasons had accumulated for the individual stages of normalization to progress without collisions, even something like the fact that they stem from the revisionist thesis constitutionally sanctioned by the FRG concerning the existence of "Germany within the 1937 borders." The FRG Government and the Bundestag bring this up every time the need arises to engage in dialog with Poland on the so-called final point. These conditions lead to difficulties raised by the FRG, for example, when the revision of schoolbooks and atlases comes up, which is attested to by the February 1981 resolution of the permanent conference of ministers of culture and education. It is possible also to cite a number of other reasons for the sluggish pace of matters composing the range of obligations, which, if not fulfilled, will make it difficult to talk about any full normalization of relations.

Our relationship to the process of normalization within the framework of the policy of peaceful coexistence has been and will remain clearly the same as the formulations adopted by both parties in the December 1970 agreement. We have judged and will continue to judge the position of the individual political forces in the FRG according to their attitude toward detente and peace. Only in such a climate will it be possible to say anything about concrete progress in the normalization process. We want this truth to reach into all of those political levels and forces that shoulder the responsibility for the fate of their country.

Unfortunately, reality is frequently different and even blocks the road to complete normalization. We were witness to this in part at the recent symposia and seminars, both in Bergneustadt (Friedrich Ebert Foundation) and at the Evangelical Academy in Loccum, where again voices attempting to push us back to when the normalization of relations as completely out of the question, made themselves known. But the fact that protests arose against the "voices of yesterday," including protests from the younger generation interested in dialog with Poland, attests to progressive publicizing of positive attitudes toward Poland, to the benefit of the whole matter of understanding and rapprochement of the two nations.

#### The Policy of Latent Negation

Although the benefits resulting from the normalization of relations are obvious, not only for the parties concerned (it was once stated that Europe breathed a sigh of relief after the signing of the agreement in Warsaw), we must not, however, sit back with folded arms and overlook the attempt to shoot the agreement between the Polish People's Republic and the FRG full of holes. Therefore, it is worthwhile to remind the political circles in the FRG, who have been implementing a tactic of latent negation toward the agreement with the hope of its gradual erosion, what prominent politician Carlo Schmid, one of the "fathers" of the FRG, wrote to Chancellor Schmidt before his death:

"Without agreements with the East, the FRG would also be isolated from the West, because it is only by virtue of these agreements that it gained the possibility of action in foreign policy. Without these agreements, it would always be subject to foreign pressure. By virtue of these agreements, the Federal Republic advanced from the status of protectorate to that of honored member in the government of nations (UN) and its voice cannot be ignored by the world powers."

If, however, the treaty with Poland is to be filled with a vivifying content, full coverage must be found on the part of the FRG of the words spoken on the occasion of the signing of this historical document by Willy Brandt. The agreement signed in Wilanowski Palace, in Warsaw he told his countrymen in the FRG in the end the evil past, including the topic of the western border of Poland. No one forced us to do this. We have become mature human beings. What is concerned here, therefore, is proving our maturity and having courage to recognize realities."

#### Marking Time

Has that reality reached the entire FRG public during the past 10 years? What prospects are in store for it? Well, without moral support, every diplomatic act can remain an archival document. In spite of striking successes, especially in the economic sector and partly in cultural exchanges, political and legal problems that have remained without final resolution continue to exist. The old prejudices and stereotypes continue to linger in the mass media, where the picture of present-day Poland is quite frequently distorted.

At the conference in Loccum already mentioned the participants were briefed on what policies should be taken for bilateral rapprochement, if the agreement signed in Warsaw is to bring visible signs of detente and understanding not only to its signatories but also to all of Europe. No one expected this process to progress rapidly and without problems. Given the past, it would have either impossible or totally artificial. However, marking time in hopes that "things will take care of themselves if you wait long enough" is typical of the current phase of the agreement is implementation by Bonn. This does not portend good prospects. The image of Poland in the eyes of the FRG youth is left to their own resources or their imagination, whereas the regulations revising school-books are covered by many layers of dust.

If this agreement is to continue as a turning point in our relations and European relations, it cannot be only an exercise for lawyers but a living evidence of lasting progress on the road to full implementation, pursuant to its provisions, which nothing can violate. All manipulation of the foundations of this agreement will only impair the credibility of those who emphasize on any occasion that "pacta sunt servanda," however, in order to exploit this formula for their own purposes. We judge that during the second 10-year period of implementation of the agreement, this truth will penetrate, even in places where thus far there was refusal to recognize it. However, such is the logic, both of the Potsdam Agreement and of the current period of European history, on which the political-territorial status quo of our continent is based.

S808

CSO: 2600/304



## ALLEGEDLY UNANSWERED LETTERS FROM SOLIDARITY'S FILES CITED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jan 82 p 8

[Article by Teresa Grabczynska: "Forced Unity--Apparent Homogeneity; Letters Without Replies...."]

[Text] Various documents, confidential instructions, and antistate printed matter have filled Solidarity's archives. After these archives were opened, to everyone's astonishment there also turned up letters from rank-and-file members of the union, resolutions and declarations of plant commissions, petitions and resignations, and letters containing requests for assistance or intervention. All of them without replies--someone had written "put aside."

It is not difficult to answer the question why such closed circulation was designated "embarrassing" correspondence--embarrassing for active workers with political aspirations. Not only have they not concerned themselves with union matters, but, as befits a democracy--about which they have talked so much--they have not allowed critical evaluations either of themselves or their actions.... And they have not granted this right to the rank-and-file members of Solidarity, from whom they demanded acceptance, allegiance, and the fulfillment of their recommendations, exclusively.

The signals coming from below--which today turn out to be quite numerous--were hushed up, and their authors frequently met with troubles and petty harassments. Those who did not want to submit to various pressures and who did not agree with the role of passive witness of events which had been assigned to them became useless. Most often a convenient pretext was found, and they were ousted from the union.

For example, by resolution of the Solidarity Plant Commission (KZ), the 16-member group at the Kunice Sheet Glass Foundry in Zary was removed from the union in December 1981. The formal reason was the taking up of collections during the Solidarity strike. But similar restrictions were not placed on other workers who also took money. KZ Secretary Tadeusz Stadler, an active participant on the strike committee, even received a reward for a special, supplementary list.

"The application of such differences is not ethical, not to mention the observances of principles of coexistence such as union regulations," wrote former members of Solidarity at the Kunice Sheet Glass Foundry in their appeal to the regional board in Zielona Gora.

Indignation and bitter disappointment, and the impossibility of accepting the applied practices dictated these words to them?

"...Without any explanation, without discussions and thorough consideration of the material situation of our families, we are being expelled from the union.... They have treated us like subversives, posting the list of those expelled in a glass case."

Methods of mental pressure, pointing fingers at "unreliable" and weak members, and taking the right to vote away from them served one goal. Under the slogan of unity and homogeneity of the ranks, they removed those members who had reservations and doubts as to the legitimacy of the direction of action which the "Solidarity" leaders had designated.

"We represent not ourselves, but the opinion of the workforce; we have consulted with the people, and they want this."

This formula was heard at the deliberations of the National Commission, at general meetings, and during negotiations with government representatives. What the consultations, the new and democratic way of making decisions really were like is described by the members of Solidarity from the Kunice foundry in their letter:

"The chairman of the KZ organized the meeting with the aim of making a decision on joining the 1-hour-old warning strike. One hundred of the 600 members took part in the meeting. They put forward three proposals: join the strike, express solidarity in a form other than a strike, and do not join the strike. Those who presented the second and third proposals were not allowed to express their feelings (catcalls, footstamping). They were not considered during the voting."

Add nothing, detract nothing. The mechanism for bringing about riots and protest actions operated ever more efficiently.

Those who did not find help at the KZ level could not expect justice higher in the regional boards. Did they have any chance--through their own remarks, protests, and hints of existing irregularities and cardinal errors--of having a bearing on correcting Solidarity's program and method of action?

Other unearthed documents contain the answer. For example, an open letter from a former employee of the press agency of the Poznan Interfactory Founding Committee (MKZ) is some illustration. He wrote:

"Some active workers in our MKZ are simply dishonest people. They manage the money turned over by the Factory Founding Committee (ZKZ) freely and even carelessly, and these are not small sums.... The apparent lack of discipline of a number of people, including some in the leadership itself, is disturbing. A climate of feigned work prevails, and the only initiatives are measures concerned with adequately satisfying one's own position...."

There has been no concealing personal contests and auctions for influence within the presidium and regional board from the union rank-and-file. Displacement of union issues by political and confrontational activities and the attitude of constant negation toward everything and everyone identified with the state authorities raised protests, but also threats of withdrawing mandates and the payment of membership dues. Many Solidarity members, urged by their own leadership to take the route of confrontation, warned against a disastrous choice. Their voices were painstakingly suppressed.

Correspondence flowed in the greatest profusion to the Mazowsze Regional Board, where an internal conflict between a group of active workers of KOR [Committee for Social Self-Defense] and so-called young active workers who sought to exert an effective impact on the regional authorities came out into the open.

Representing various environments, those workers who were lowest in the organizational structure of the union cautioned and protested against political showdowns and neglect of human issues, union issues, and the failure to inform Solidarity members about work and the plans of the board.

The KZ at the Industrial Construction Machinery Institute threatened to stop turning over membership dues. The KZ at the BETON-STAL enterprise made a similar threat. The KZ at the Walter Sugar Industry Disabled Veteran' Cooperative expressed "...deep disapproval of the existing situation, which can cause complete lack of confidence among union members."

The KZ at the Municipal Sanitation Enterprise [MPO] demanded among other things, that group and personal contests cease and that the scope and volume of union information increase.

The staged course of the Mazowsze general meeting, which took place at the beginning of December 1981, neglected union issues.

For those who did not agree, there remained another possibility of appealing to the highest Solidarity authorities--to the National Commission.

Scientific workers at the Institute of the Basic Problems of Technology sent an open letter to the National Consultative Commission (KKP), in which we read, among other things, that:

"The KKP of the Solidarity National Trade Union (NSZZ), on behalf of its own well conceived interests, and on behalf of a good nation, should purge itself of all fortuitous excessive outgrowths, eliminating in the first place KSS-KOR [Committee for Social Self-Defense] advisors, violent and extremist elements who are striving to plunge our nation into a sea of fraternal blood..."

The issue was settled quickly by relegating the letter to the...anonymous letter file.

There was no lack of letters addressed directly to Lech Walesa. The workers at the Fala Knitwear Goods Plant in Gdansk, women members of Solidarity, stated:

"In connection with your last appearance in Radom, we wish to express our feelings. We ask you to hear our voice, the voice of Poles, mothers and wives. We cannot hide the fact that we are filled with anxiety. We are afraid of a confrontation.... We appeal to you strongly, very earnestly--do not let it come to the shedding of blood. Make one more attempt to sit down at a negotiating table with the government. The path of negotiation must be the only way of achieving understanding."

Those were words of truth. They laid bare the lie of the extremist politicians of Solidarity, voicing their slogan about the radicalization of the masses, who cannot be opposed and who long for confrontation.

The strike actions were supposed to channel these moods--to soothe and to calm. The Solidarity strategists found more "useful" occupations for the member throngs than controlling the "top."

"...I see that we are not getting bread and flour out of it, after a year and a half the issue is getting worse..... This is not a union, it is hostility toward our community."

Thus wrote Tarnow resident Andrzej S. frankly but awkwardly to Lech Walesa.

In this way, the circulation of correspondence which, by convention, I have called embarrassing was closed. In Solidarity itself, as it turn out, there were a sufficient number of signals and protests which would allow the union leadership to draw practical conclusions and to program actions consistent with the expectations of those for whom the Solidarity National Trade Union was formed--under the condition that the Solidarity leadership set itself this goal. But this leadership implemented an entirely different program--a program of taking over leadership based on the tactics of a struggle designated by active workers from the antisocialist opposition.

The cited examples demonstrate sufficiently that the leaders of Solidarity well knew the real opinion of the mass membership--it was only that they did not want to know, for it was not useful for them.

8729

CSO: 2600/310



COMMUNIST YOUTH UNION LEADER INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 17 Feb 82 p2

[Interview with Pawel Darczewski, first secretary of the National Committee, Communist Union of Polish Youth (KZMP), by Adolf Reut: "We Are a Union of Struggle -- In a Month the KZMP Constitutional Congress"]

[Text] In a month, on 17 March, the constitutional congress of the Communist Union of Polish Youth will begin in Warsaw. A PAP reporter talked to the First Secretary of the KZMP National Committee, Pawel Darczewski, about the preparations for the congress and about what the union is and wants to be.

[Question] Perhaps a few words on the preparations for the KZMP congress.

[Answer] It is no accident that we want to start the sessions right on 17 March. In this way once again we will be emphasizing our connection to the traditions of the Communist Youth Union of Poland, the revolutionary youth organization which operated from 1922 to 1938 under the leadership of the KPP [Communist Party of Poland (prewar)]. Allow me to mention that it was right on 17 March 1922, 60 years ago, that groups of communist youth convened their first congress.

Actually the preparations for our congress have been going on for several months; since the registration of the statute of our union last June a congress commission has been operating, and drafts of organizational and program documents have been created. We are paying special attention to the program resolution, and to improvements in the statute and declaration of ideology. Our first constitutional congress will elect the organization's leadership and, in particular, will give concrete direction to operations and forms of implementation of the program goals.

[Question] But even the most recent information about KZMP does not give us a full picture of how the KZMP came about and what it is today.

[Answer] The idea of creating in a consistent fashion a communist youth organization matured a long time ago. This was particularly evident at the end of the 1970's in a situation of growing, deep crisis in the ideological sphere as well as in the mechanisms of operation of the youth organizations. KZMP started with independent spontaneous Marxist study groups initiated by groups of left-wing worker youth as well as student groups. In June 1980 a Communist Union of Students came into being in Krakow. A few weeks later an organization of the same name was created in Katowice. I have already talked about the fact that last June our union came to be registered, and in July the KZMP National Committee came into being, and there was a fusion with the Union of Communist Youth, which formed as a parallel group in Katowice. The National Committee met at four plenary meetings already to discuss organizational and program issues. In our declaration we are accenting the fact that it is the basic duty of KZMP members to protect the sovereignty of socialist Poland and the freedom of the people, and this is inseparably tied in with the struggle to bring social justice to reality, and the fight for moral rebirth, the economic renewal of the country, and scientific, working, and cultural conditions which are just for all young people.

KZMP presently has about 5,000 members, and their representatives will attend the constitutional congress. We are not a mass organization, and we have absolutely no inclination in this direction. There is no division among us into members and activists. Everyone belonging to KZMP is obliged to take active part in the life of other mass youth organizations.

[Question] Exactly, what sort of relationship does KZMP have to the socialist youth unions.

[Answer] We have come out many times and still do so for the creation of a joint action front of left-wing Polish youth. The events and changes which are taking place in our country make this principle still more fitting. Unfortunately, if we omit worker and colleague contacts, it is difficult to talk today about effective cooperation. On the contrary, we are hearing accusations without foundation that it was our purpose to break down this unity -- I think there is still a long way to go to unity -- and to weaken other organizations. This is an insinuation which may perhaps stem from the reluctance people have observed on the part of the leaders of some other youth organization or perhaps from differences in our forms of action. We are simply undertaking a political struggle and are operating entirely according to social principles...

[Question] Has martial law created any sort of basic changes in the directions and forms of your activity?

[Answer] The establishment of martial law, as we expressed in the position taken by the KZMP National Committee, was necessary and justified by the exceptional situation in the country, the growing wave of confrontation, and the threat of counterrevolution. Of course this does not mean apologetics for martial law which, after all, has numerous restrictions and limitations, but we realize that it is essential finally to put the

political and economic situation in our country in order. The way out of the crisis, especially the economic one, as we see it, is to be found in action which takes into consideration certain elements of wartime economy and administration.

The whole membership gives numerous examples daily proving that it understands the demands of the current situation. We are trying, in our groups, to take an active part in resolving the various sorts of problems. We are most committed to everything related to consolidation of the party ranks, and to building up the party's moral authority and the society's confidence in the party.

10790

CSO: 2600/347

# WSNS PARTY SCHOOL CONFERENCE ON CRISES NOTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jan 82 p 2

[Article by Zenon Skuza: "The Sources of the Sociopolitical Crises"]

[Text] On 26 and 26 January 1982 at the PZPR Central Committee's Higher School of Social Sciences (WSNS), there was academic session devoted to analyzing the sources and nature of the sociopolitical and economic crises in People's Poland. Representatives of many academic sectors in the country from various fields of learning participated in the deliberations.

In opening the deliberations, Doc Dr Hab Nobert Michta, WSNS rector, pointed out that the session was an attempt by the higher school to fulfill the duty imposed upon it both by the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress and the work forces of many work places (especially PAFAWAG) to provide society and the party with answers to the fundamental question of the day: Why did these crises take place, what caused them, and how can the country and the party guard against similar upheavals in the future? How many of the answers to these questions will be honest depends today, in no small degree, on the party. Can it restore the confidence of the workers class and the entire society? What are its real possibilities for having a leadership role in the life of the people?

The following reports formed the basis of the discussion: Doc Dr Hab Wladyslaw Wazniewski's "General and Specific Characteristics of the Manifestation of the Crisis Situations in People's Poland;" Doc Dr Hab Adam Koseski's "Controversies Surrounding the Essence of Socialist Renewal"; Doc Dr Hab Zdzislaw Bombera's "Economic Premises and Conditions of the Socioeconomic Crises in the PRL [Polish People's Republic]."

At the plenary discussion, over 60 participants among them, many specialists, political leaders, organizers of production life, and farmers, spoke at the sociopolitical, economic and ideological sections.

## Mistakes in the Leadership and Management System

At the discussion, which was often controversial, an attempt was made to answer these questions: How is one to understand the essence of the sociopolitical crisis? Do the social and political aspects of this crisis have a cyclical



nature? Do objective or subjective factors determine them, and, if so, which of them should be assigned a decisive role? To what degree do external conditions determine the appearance of these social and political aspects of this crisis? Is it possible to understand their nature and dimensions as well as their appearance without defining the degree of responsibility of persons having leadership functions in the life of the state? Participants often brought up the fact that establishing the degree of people's culpability and responsibility is a necessary condition in the analysis of this phenomenon. Many discussants mentioned the fact that mistakes in cadre policy were of no small consequence.

The question has been raised as to the source of these crises. Are they to be attributed to a lack of government reform? Are they an imminent feature of socialism? Or are they the result of errors committed in the leadership and management system of the national economy, errors in Poland's economic policy?

Many discussants, among them education representatives, stated that higher learning was not without blame, especially the social and economic sciences, in maintaining a servile attitude toward economic policy. Due in part to such an attitude among intellectuals, deformations in social life which were transformed into crisis situations could occur. It has been pointed out that in the entire postwar period, particularly in the 1970's, there was virtually no proper correlation between theory and practice. False assumptions were made and wrong goals undertaken. Among these goals was the future goal of having socialism compete with capitalism, which signifies a departure from the primary goal of socialism: man and his needs.

Economists particularly stressed the many errors made in import and export policy in Poland's policy toward the EWPG, and they expressed the need for reestablishing a balance among particular sectors of the national economy that in past years have become seriously unbalanced. Other points raised by these economists were the priority status of social policy and the need for a new look at the problem of agriculture and the entire food complex in our country.

#### Too Little Realism

Many discussants referred to the fact that there was too little realism in our practical and ideological practice, too much wishful thinking, and too many programs for future development without any real possibilities of their being realized under actual conditions. Moreover, they pointed out that too often social phenomena were analyzed without viewing them through a "class" lens and there was underdevelopment of social construction theory, creating the chance for all kinds of voluntarism to develop, starting with economic voluntarism.

Many discussants declared themselves in favor of the necessity for elucidating the 1948 crisis, viewing it as the taproot of succeeding crises.

Everyone stressed, in substance, that the indispensable condition for the socialist process of renewal is the democratization of the party, its faithfulness to Marxist-Leninist precepts and principles in performing its leadership role. They made it known that martial law does not cancel out the process of democratization but creates real premises for fulfilling profound, indispensable social reforms.

9866

CSO: 2600/309

DECREE ON PROCEDURES IN CRIMINAL, MISDEMEANOR CASES

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 29, 14 Dec 81 pp 317-320

[Decree of 12 December 1981 on Special Proceedings in Criminal and Misdemeanor Cases During a State of Martial Law]

[Text] In order to provide for the stronger defense of the fundamental interests of the state and citizenry and with a view to the more efficient disposition of criminal and misdemeanor cases during a state of martial law--the Council of State resolves as follows:

Chapter 1

Summary Proceedings

Article 1. 1. For as long as martial law shall remain in force summary proceedings are to be instituted before general and military courts in cases involving criminal offenses as defined in the provisions of:

1) article 122 and 123, article 124, sections 1 and 2, article 126 and 127, article 128, section 1, articles 130-134, article 135, sections 1 and 2, article 136, section 1, article 137, section 1, article 138, section 1, article 139, section 1, article 140, section 1, articles 142-144, article 148, section 1, article 155, section 1, article 157, article 158, sections 2 and 3, article 159, article 165, section 2, article 200, section 1, articles 201 and 202, articles 208-211, article 212, section 2, article 215, section 2, article 217, section 2, article 218, section 1, article 220, article 221, section 4, article 223, section 3, article 227, articles 233-235, articles 239 and 240, article 241, sections 1, 3 and 4, article 244, article 246, sections 1 and 2, article 252, section 1, article 253, article 254, section 1, article 256, section 2, article 257, section 1, article 260, sections 1 and 2, article 261, article 262, section 2, article 264, section 2, articles 270-272, article 273, sections 1 and 2, article 274, section 2, article 275, article 276, article 278, sections 1-3, articles 279-283, articles 286 and 287, article 288, section 1, article 303, sections 2-4, articles 304-307, article 309, section 1, articles 310-314 and articles 329 and 330 of the Penal Code;

2) articles 1 and 2 of the Law of 29 December 1950 on the Defense of the Peace (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 58, item 521);

3) article 22 of the Law of 15 February 1962 on the Organization of National Statistical Records (DZIENNIK USTAW No 10, item 47 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

4) article 47, section 1, article 51, section 1, and article 54, section 1 and also crimes committed under circumstances as set forth in article 83, section 2, and as defined in article 74, section 2, article 75, section 2, and article 76, section 2 of the Law of 26 October 1971—the Law on Fiscal Crimes (DZIENNIK USTAW No 28, item 260 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

5) article 46, sections 1-6, article 47, section 1, and article 48, sections 1-4 of the Decree of 12 December 1981 on Martial Law (DZIENNIK USTAW No 29, item 154) insofar as for reasons having to do with the nature and scope of a violation of or of an act which jeopardizes national security and defense interests or because of other unusual circumstances attending the commission of a crime the degree of public danger resulting from such an action is deemed to be especially severe.

2. Summary proceedings are to be instituted solely in relation to crimes committed during a state of martial law and in a place located within a jurisdiction where martial law has been declared in conformity with the provisions of the resolution of the Council State on the declaration of martial law.

3. Summary proceedings are to be instituted solely in relation to crimes which are subject to such proceedings to the exclusion of all other crimes with which the accused is charged and which are prosecuted in accordance with other rules of proceeding.

Article 2. A public prosecutor or court shall refrain from prosecuting a case in accordance with the rules of summary proceeding insofar as, for reasons having to do with the nature and extent of a violation of or of an act which jeopardizes national security interests during a state of martial law or because of other unusual circumstances attending the commission of a crime, the degree of public danger resulting from such an action is not deemed to be especially severe.

Article 3. Summary proceedings may not be instituted against persons who at the time a crime was committed are under 17 years of age, pregnant women, and persons who because of mental retardation, mental illness, or some other mental dysfunction were not able to comprehend the significance of an act at the time it was committed or who either were not able to control their actions or were able to do so only to a very limited extent.

Article 4. 1. For crimes which are subject to the rules of summary proceeding and regardless of the nature and limits of statutory liability for a given criminal offense a court may impose the following basic penalties: the death penalty or a 25-year prison sentence or the penalty of imprisonment for a term of not less than 3 years, except insofar as special laws provide for a higher minimum statutory penalty.

2. A court may impose the death penalty and 25-year prison sentences only in cases where the maximum statutory penalty for a given offense is not less than imprisonment for a term of 8 years.

3. In summary proceedings a court may in unusual and especially warranted cases recognized by law grant special commutations of sentences. The provisions of article 57, sections 2 and 4 of the Penal Code do not apply in such cases.

4. For a crime which is subject to the rules of summary proceeding a court may impose the additional penalty of forfeiture of civil rights, and a court may also order that special procedures should be followed in informing the public of the sentence handed down for such a criminal conviction, just as it may also order the partial or total confiscation of property.

Article 5. The provisions of the Penal Code and other laws on criminal proceeding are to be enforced in summary proceedings insofar as the provisions of this decree do not stipulate otherwise.

Article 6. 1. Public prosecutors shall issue writs on the prosecution of a case in accordance with the rules of summary proceeding concurrently with the issuance of writs on the institution of preliminary proceedings.

2. The writ of a public prosecutor on the prosecution of a case in accordance with the rules of summary proceeding may be appealed.

3. A public prosecutor may rescind a previously issued writ on the prosecution of a case in accordance with the rules of summary proceeding before an act of indictment is presented to a court of law.

4. Before a case is sent up for a main trial hearing a court will convene for the purpose of making an official ruling on the grounds for trying a case in accordance with the rules of summary proceeding as set forth in an act of indictment. The provisions of article 299, section 1, item 3 of the Code of Criminal Procedure are to be enforced accordingly.

5. In the event that a writ on the prosecution of a case in accordance with the rules of summary proceeding is rescinded by a public prosecutor or in the event that the rules of summary proceeding as set forth in an act of indictment are modified by a court of law, criminal proceedings in the disposition of a case are to be conducted thereafter in accordance with the rules of ordinary proceeding.

Article 7. 1. Preliminary proceedings in cases involving crimes subject to summary proceedings should be completed by no later than 15 days after the date on which they were instituted, whereas in complex cases--with the consent of a public prosecutor of superior jurisdiction--they should be completed within 30 days.

2. The time limit specified in article 259 of the Code of Criminal Procedure is to be reduced to 10 days, the time limits specified in article 269, section 3, article 277, section 1, article 284, section 2, and article 410 are to be re-



duced to 3 days, and the time limit specified in article 277, section 2 is to be reduced to 1 day.

Article 8. 1. Temporary detention is sanctioned in cases involving crimes subject to summary proceedings.

2. Appeals against the writ of a public prosecutor on the enforcement of temporary detention should be reviewed within 48 hours of the date on which such appeals are filed.

3. In the event that a writ on the prosecution of a case in accordance with the rules of summary proceeding is rescinded or in the event that the rules of summary proceeding as set forth in an act of indictment are modified, a new writ will be issued after a hearing has been held to examine the grounds for upholding a temporary detention order.

Article 9. 1. The president of a court will send a case to trial within 5 days of the receipt of an act of indictment or within 5 days of having corrected any deficiencies in such an indictment.

2. In the event that the accused is suffering from a severe illness a case may be sent to trial after the accused has recovered to the point where they are able to appear in court.

3. The time limit specified in article 302, section 1 of the Code of Criminal Procedure is to be reduced to 3 days, whereas the time limit specified in article 305, section 1 is to be reduced to 1 day.

4. If there are reasonable grounds to suspect that a material or expert witness will avoid making a court appearance, the president of a court may direct that a material or expert witness should be subpoenaed to give testimony in court.

Article 10. In criminal cases subject to summary proceedings verdicts will be handed down by a provincial courts (military district courts or a court of a branch of the armed forces) at a trial presided over by three judges.

Article 11. 1. The filing of civil suits is prohibited.

2. The provisions of article 363 of the Code of Criminal Procedure are not to be enforced.

3. Auxiliary plaintiffs and attorneys representing social organizations may not take part in summary proceedings.

4. The provisions of article 348, section 2, clause 2, article 350, article 358, section 2 of the Code of Criminal Procedure are not to be enforced. The time limit specified in article 347, section of 2 of the Code of Criminal Procedure is to be reduced to 7 days.

Article 12. 1. A court will impose the death penalty for a crime subject to summary proceedings only in cases where a unanimous verdict is handed down with respect to both guilt and the imposition of the death penalty.

2. A court may issue a ruling to discontinue the enforcement of rules of summary proceeding.

3. In the event that summary proceedings are discontinued, cases are to be prosecuted thereafter in accordance with the rules of ordinary proceeding.

Article 13. 1. Verdicts are to be announced to the public immediately after they have been signed by a court president.

2. The legal grounds of a verdict are to be drawn up in writing within 7 days after its promulgation.

3. Opinions handed down by a court of law may not be appealed.

Article 14. In the event that a verdict is handed down in favor of imposing the death penalty a court is to submit all documents relating to a given case to the First President of the Supreme Court within 3 days of the date on which the legal grounds for such a verdict are drawn up in writing. The provisions of article 500 of the Code Criminal Procedure are to be enforced accordingly. All documents relating to a given case are to be submitted to the Council of State within 14 days of the date on which such documents were submitted to the First President of the Supreme Court.

Article 15. 1. The Supreme Court, presided over by a panel of five judges, will hear special appeals for retrial filed against a verdict terminating judicial proceedings that were conducted in accordance with the rules of summary proceeding.

2. The Supreme Court, presided over by a panel of five judges, will rule on questions related to the retrial of a case that was closed with the issuance of a lawful verdict in accordance with the rules of summary proceeding.

3. In the event that retrial is ordered or a sentence is revoked in accordance with the rules of special judicial review proceedings a court of law will hear cases in question in accordance with the rules of ordinary proceeding.

## Chapter II

### Simplified Proceedings in Criminal Cases

Article 16. Cases involving the following criminal offenses shall also be tried under the rules of simplified proceeding to which reference is made in chapter 43 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, to wit:

1) crimes punishable by imprisonment for a term of up to 3 years or for a term of up to 3 years plus the assessment of a fine;

2) crimes specified in the provisions of article 156, section 1, article 199, section 1, article 203, section 1, article 204, section 2, article 215 section 1, article 221, sections 1 and 3, and articles 224 and 225 of the Penal Code even insofar as the value of the object of a crime or the damage caused or intended exceeds 5,000 zlotys.

Article 17. 1. In a complex case the agency in charge of conducting preliminary proceedings may decline to prosecute a case in accordance with the rules of simplified proceeding.

2. Before a case is sent to trial for a main hearing a court of law in session may decline to review a case in accordance with the rules of simplified proceeding as set forth in an act of indictment. The provisions of article 299, section 1, item 3 of the Code of Criminal Procedure are to be enforced accordingly.

### Chapter III

#### Accelerated Proceedings in Criminal Cases

Article 18. Accelerated proceedings referred to in chapter 45 of the Code of Criminal Procedure are to be instituted in cases involving crimes specified in the provisions of:

1) article 158, section 1, article 165, section 1, article 167, section 1, article 171, section 1, article 195, article 197, section 1, article 198, article 212, section 1, article 214, sections 1 and 2, article 236, article 237, article 256, section 1, article 274, section 1, article 284, and article 285 of the Penal Code;

2) articles 3-5, article 6, article 1, and article 8 of the Law of 22 April 1959 on Combating the Unlicensed Production of Alcoholic Beverages (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 27, item 169);

3) article 25, sections 1 and 2 of the Law of 10 December 1959 on the Fight Against Alcoholism (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 69, item 434 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

4) article 28, section 1 of the Law of 31 January 1961 on Weapons, Ammunition, and Explosives (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 6, item 43);

5) article 91, section 1, item 3 of the Law of 31 May 1962--The Aviation Act (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 32, item 153);

6) article 222 and 223, article 224, section 1, articles 227 and 230, and article 232 of the Law of 21 November 1967 on the General Duty of Service in Defense of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1979, No 18, item 111);

7) article 118, section 1 of the law of 26 October 1971--the Law on Fiscal Crimes (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 28, entry 260 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

8) articles 54 and 55 of the Law of 10 April 1974 on the Census and Personal Identity Cards (DZIENNIK USTAW No 14, item 85);

9) article 123 of the Law of 24 October 1974--the Water Act (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 38, item 230 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

10) articles 41 and 42, section 2 of the Law of 12 June 1975 on Firefighting Services (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 106)

--even if such crimes are not classified as hooligan-type offenses.

Article 19. Under the rules of accelerated proceeding a court may impose a prison sentence of up to 2 years, and it may assess a fine in addition to a prison sentence in an amount of up to 100,000 zlotys.

Article 20. 1. If in the course of a trial it should become necessary to conduct preliminary proceedings with respect to a given criminal charge or if a court foresees the possibility of imposing a prison sentence for a term of more than 2 years or assessing a fine in addition to a prison sentence in an amount exceeding 100,000 zlotys, the court will remand the case in question to a public prosecutor; the court shall review the grounds for the enforcement of a temporary detention order or other preventive measures.

2. In the event that case is remanded to a public prosecutor, criminal proceedings in a given case are to be conducted thereafter in accordance with the rules of simplified proceeding except in cases mentioned in article 420 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. The provisions of article 17 of this decree are to be enforced accordingly.

#### Chapter IV

##### Accelerated Proceedings in Misdemeanor Cases

Article 21. Accelerated proceedings referred to in part 6 of the Code of Procedure in Misdemeanor Cases are to be instituted before misdemeanor collegia under the jurisdiction of local government agencies and maritime offices in cases involving misdemeanors as specified in the provisions of:

1) articles 49 and 50, article 52, section 1, article 56, section 1, article 57, section 1, article 61, section 2, article 63, section 1, articles 64 and 65, article 66, section 1, article 67, section 1, article 69, article 76, articles 90 and 103, article 127, section 1, article 143, section 1, article 146, section 1, and article 147 of the Misdemeanors Code;

2) article 57 of the executive order of the President of the Republic dated 27 October 1932--the Law on Associations (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 94, item 808 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

3) article 80 item 1 and 2 of the Law of 7 March 1932 on Fisheries (DZIENNIK USTAW No 35 item 357 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

4) article 9 of the Law of 28 March 1933 on Military Graves and Cemeteries (DZIENNIK USTAW No 39, item 311 together with subsequent amendments thereto);



- 5) article 12, section 1 of the Decree of 2 August 1951 on Fairs and Market-places (DZIENNIK USTAW No 41, item 312);
- 6) article 8, section 1 of the Decree of 6 September 1951 on Areas of Special Importance to the National Defense (DZIENNIK USTAW No 46, item 341);
- 7) article 15, section 1, items 1 and 3-5 of the Law of 7 March 1950 on Shipping and Raft Traffic Along Inland Waterways (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1952, No 26, item 182 together with subsequent amendments thereto);
- 8) article 7, section 1 and article 8 of the Decree of 23 April 1953 on Natural Disaster Relief Services (DZIENNIK USTAW No 23, item 93 together with subsequent amendments thereto);
- 9) article 31, section 1 of the Decree of 23 March 1956 on the Security of National Borders (DZIENNIK USTAW No 9, item 51 together with subsequent amendments thereto);
- 10) article 6, section 2 of the Law of 22 April 1959 on Combating the Unlicensed Distilling of Alcoholic Beverages (DZIENNIK USTAW No 27, item 169);
- 11) article 27, sections 1 and 2 of the Law of 31 January 1961 on Weapons, Ammunition, and Explosives (DZIENNIK USTAW No 6, item 43);
- 12) article 30-32 and article 34 of the Law of 27 November 1961 on Highway Transport and Domestic Freight Forwarding (DZIENNIK USTAW No 53, item 297);
- 13) article 52, items 1 and 3 and article 34 of the Law of 1 December 1961--The Maritime Code (DZIENNIK USTAW No 58, item 318 together with subsequent amendments thereto);
- 14) article 92, sections 1 and 2 of the Law of 31 May 1962--The Aviation Code (DZIENNIK USTAW No 32, item 153);
- 15) article 22, section 1 of the Law of 29 March 1963 on Foreign Nationals (DZIENNIK USTAW No 15, item 77);
- 16) article 42, item 2 of the Law of 21 May 1963 on Maritime Fisheries (DZIENNIK USTAW No 22, item 115 together with subsequent amendments thereto);
- 17) article 25, section 1 of the Law of 17 June 1959 on Passports (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1967, No 17, item 81 together with subsequent amendments thereto);
- 18) article 24, section 1, items 1 and 2 of the Law of 9 April 1968 on Permits for Public Artistic, Entertainment, and Sports Events (DZIENNIK USTAW No 12, item 64);
- 19) article 56 of the Law of 10 April 1974 on the Census and Personal Identity Cards (DZIENNIK USTAW No 14, item 85);

20) article XII, section 2 of the Law of 26 June 1974—Introductory Provisions of the Labor Code (DZIENNIK USTAW No 24, item 142 together with subsequent amendments thereto);

21) article 48 and article 50 of the Law of 20 May 1975 on the Quartering of the Armed Forces (DZIENNIK USTAW No 19, item 121);

22) article 217, section 1, article 218, section 1, and article 220 of the Law of 21 November 1967 on the General Duty of Service in Defense of the Polish Peoples Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1979, No 18, item 111);

23) article 50 of the Decree of 12 December 1981 on Martial Law (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 29, item 154).

Article 22. In cases involving misdemeanors punishable by detention searches may be conducted in accordance with the provisions of the Code of Procedure in Misdemeanor Cases.

#### Chapter V

#### Concluding Provisions

Article 23. 1. Effective the date on which martial law is revoked outstanding cases being prosecuted in accordance with the rules of summary proceeding are to be remanded for prosecution under the rules of ordinary proceeding and the execution of a lawful death sentence is to be stayed and at the same time the case in question is to be submitted to an appellate court for review.

2. Cases involving crimes mentioned in article 18 that are outstanding on the date martial law is revoked and being prosecuted under the rules of accelerated proceeding are to be remanded on that date for trial under the rules of ordinary proceeding.

3. Cases involving crimes mentioned in article 16 that are outstanding on the date martial law is revoked and being prosecuted under the rules of simplified proceeding are to be remanded on that date for trial under the rules of ordinary proceeding.

Article 24. Cases involving misdemeanors mentioned in article 21 that are outstanding on the date martial law is revoked and being prosecuted under the rules of accelerated proceeding are to be remanded on that date for trial under the rules of ordinary proceeding.

Article 25. This decree enters into force on the date of its promulgation and is retroactive to the date on which martial law is declared.

Chairman of the Council of State, H. Jablonski

Secretary of the Council of State, E. Duda

11813

CSO: 2600/224

'RZECZPOSPOLITA' BEGINS SERIES ON 'WHAT KIND OF POLAND ?'

Announcement of Series

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jan 82 p 1

[Unattributed article: "What Kind of Poland?"]

[Text] Today we are all seeking an answer to that question. We are asking, how can lasting social peace be assured? But also: How did this situation come about? What will Poland be like after the period of martial law? What kind of Poland should it be?

We are opening our columns to all who choose to share their own reflections and proposals with our readers. Today we are printing the views of Prof Jan Baszkiewicz and Halina Auderska (p 3).

Whatever Is Possible

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by historian Prof Jan Baszkiewicz: "What Kind of Poland? Whatever Is Possible"]

[Text] We need honest reflection on the state of Polish issues, the premise for which must be the clear understanding that politics always was an art of possible things. History can give people only an opportunity for, and not a guarantee of, success.

1. We complain that the Polish fate afflicts us painfully. That is true. But let us remember that various painful experiences were--and are--the lot of many other nations. And let us remember also that the wisdom of nations is precisely a function of their experiences: it results from cool headed reflection on what happened to them and to their close or distant neighbors.

2. In October 1956 there arose many chinks in the bureaucratized system of ruling and management of the economy; but they were not filled in by the pressure of living social forces on so many powerful and mature people to assure the democratic evolution of our socialist institutions. During the course of the following

quarter century, consequently, there accumulated disappointments, setbacks, and bitterness, which gave social protest after August 1980 the force of an element.

3. The leadership of the "post-August social movement" willingly referred to the fact that it was expressing only the radical mood of that social element. Even if this was the whole truth (and I think that it is not), an element can be both a consuming force and a source of useful energy, after all. The wise leadership of elemental social movements, as the experience of history has shown, knows how to control elements rationally, and not only how to be carried off by a wave that has swelled. If it does not know how to do so, it simply is not wise leadership.

4. Today we need in Poland—as much as air or bread—wise, powerful, I do not hesitate to write, truly great authority. The majority of politicians are measured by their capacity to combine two fundamental traits: a firm tendency to preserve the valuable principles of the social structure, and also a firm innovative ability, and thus, the ability to reform equipment which has already outlived its usefulness. Today more than ever we need a wise balance of these two political virtues. The first one has prevailed for too long.

5. In socialism, those ruling do not have the right to be waited on by the state, they are obliged to serve the state. The team ruling in the 1970's fell and left in disrepute, for they believed in the presumptuous formula: The state is I. Authority strong in social recognition is not authority confident of its own bureaucratic superiority, authority which endeavors to shove everyone before it, but rather, democratic authority which living forces of the socialist society—workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, and youth—will want and will know how to follow of their own accord.

6. Certainly, the constant expansion of fields of social self-government is the best safeguard against bureaucratization, which brings crises. But in the last 12 months or so the problem of self-government has become overgrown with regrettable misunderstandings. Many times people in self-government looked for a club which could manage to break or paralyze the authority of the socialist state; in these evaluations, calculations hostile to the structure and dogmatic fears bursting with distrust thwarted each other. On the other hand, it is true that in societies with a long democratic tradition, self-government is not something external to state authority, inimical, or oppositional: it is simply its component and its important support. Precisely the development of social self-government allows people to talk about authority: That is my [in boldface] authority. Some sort of they [in boldface] do not rule us, in our house we [in boldface] rule ourselves.

7. I was never a careerist; those who know me will attest to how I think. All the more boldly I have decided to write that for a year I have observed very carefully the actions of the soldier and politician who on 13 December assumed the particular burden of responsibility for the fate of Poland. I believe that he is serving the country with purity of intentions, patriotism, and an understanding of justified social aspirations. Among other things, it is precisely these characteristics that allow me to believe that we have an opportunity for the present crisis to go down in history as the final crisis of this depth and scale.



8. But we should remember by all means that history can give people only an opportunity for, and not a guarantee of, success. We need time and effort to change an opportunity into success. Two things can help us in this long march. Thus, we need honest reflection on the state of Polish issues, the premise for which must be the clear understanding that politics always was and is an art of possible things. And to recognize what is and what is not possible, we have to repudiate pusillanimity and intellectual laziness. Let us look to the future not only with hope itself but also with wise restlessness of imagination.

#### Governable. Just Poland

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by writer Halina Auderska: "Man Is Not Born for Himself..."]

[Text] I believe that many thinking people are exposed to at least three dangers. First: to an error in scientific research, and in personal, political, and social life to a badly constructed plan based on misguided assumptions; second: to bad behavior in moral life, that is, the transgression of principles of ethics; and third: to bad taste in artistic creation, to insensitivity to beauty.

In our life--the life of a thinking nation which managed after the war, in a devastated country, to muster extraordinary actions for the reconstruction of cities, villages, and factories with its inhabitants' own strength--it was later, in the epoch of "minimal stabilization," that cracks began to appear and that precisely these mistakes began to be revealed. And this occurred not in science, which has brought international successes, and not in art--for we can boast achievements in the fields of music, art, scenography, theater, and film--but precisely in the planning of the life of the state and society.

This happened very early, for in 1960 I attempted as a writer to focus attention on the first danger: "Path through the Field" and later "Normally, a Human Being" talked about the harmful depopulation of the villages, with the weakest and oldest elements remaining there, and about the ruination of agriculture. In these works, an elderly peasant utters words which came true only today, but which were the result of misguided planning assumption, a portent of disaster: "If all the young people leave the villages for the cities, these cities will not have anything to eat. They have left the earth, but they have not reached the sky. And you will be sitting comfortably in your arm chair, gazing at your television sets and watching ships carry grain to Gdynia for us. Foreign grain, although our land is waiting and wants to yield crops." ("Path through the Field," 1960).

Today people talk about the fact that we can extract ourselves from the crisis if we fulfill a couple of conditions: self-sufficiency of agriculture, extraction of coal for export as well, and finally, honest, exerting work on everyone's part. This has been clear for many years to sensibly thinking citizens. Why, then, was this time wasted? Now let it not be writers who reply to this question, but specialists, advisors, and those economists who did not object to the propaganda of success.

I would be interested in a reply to the following questions: Why were great state economies deficient for so long? Why, when the land was seized from peasants

working on a fixed income, was it left overgrown with weeds, reddened, or frequently designated for plots for dachas [villas] built for lovers? Why wasn't the danger arising from the uprising of the peasant-worker stratum, which turned out to be an unproductive stratum for agriculture, perceived in time? Having destroyed not only the peasant-worker stratum's structure but also its customs and even people's creativity, having broken the links between the peasant class and worker class--why was there no concern with keeping the miners, the social group so necessary for Poland, completely healthy and active?

Let the specialists also choose to answer why they agreed to the cultural impoverishment of the villages, to the collapse of the plan for the dissemination of culture by depriving the smallest village centers of teachers and instructors, and to the closing of 12,000 or so schools that each taught a couple of classes?

But interrupting the experiment with the 10-year program in the school system does not automatically solve the problem of school instruction or the upbringing of children and youth. We raised the previous generation badly--let us not be afraid to admit our mistake--so let us take care to raise today's young generation in a healthy atmosphere and to make them aware of their political-historical roots and postwar conditions--and to make them remember the maxim of Frycz Modrzewski, who dreamed of an improvement of the Republic whereby each citizen knew that "he is not born for himself, but for the Homeland."

We have splendid, receptive youth who in many cases have made up for deficiencies in their school history instruction through self-education or by asking their parents "How was it really?" But this youth--an inflammable substance--also does not always manage to reason soberly or to appreciate reality. They dream of a heroic gust, of repeating the grandiose actions of those who in former times were thrown to the ramparts like stones.

During the Warsaw uprising, when I was walking on Swietokrzyska Street to the PKO [Polish Savings Bank], an 8-year-old boy confronted me, presenting himself to carry my newspapers or messages. When I tried to see him home, he beseeched me not to do so, for it was terribly dull at home, and in the square the "pigeon keeper" was shooting, so it was more interesting here than in his own backyard. And he added: "Oh, I wish this uprising could last forever." I took him to the canteen, but he ran off to the square and the next day, close to Wedel's [chocolates] store on Szpitalna Street, he died from a bullet fired by the "pigeon keeper." It came back to me now, when a certain girl who was accompanying me recently suddenly threw her arms around the neck of an older woman who was passing by. When I asked what this enthusiastic greeting meant, she responded with pride: "I was always envious that she was in the resistance movement, but now that I have taken part in several demonstrations, when I have taken risks together with the older students, I feel that I am her equal. And I am happy that I do not have to be envious anymore..."

I leave this answer without commentary, but, understanding noble motives and the rush for heroism, I fear for this girl and her companions just as I did for that 8-year-old boy.

We have already made a mess of a generation of young farmers--let us try to protect the children and grandchildren of the "Columbuses" from self-extermination. In

In large measure this is a task for their families, but in no lesser measure it is a task for school as well as the place of study. And not by instruction, bans, and commands, but only by explaining how very much Poland of the 1980's needs their wise reflection, moderation, honest work, and their life's plan based on accurate assumptions. "Would that there were reason during youth," sighed Kochanowski while writing "Separation."

What kind of Poland should it be? A republic? He--Kochanowski, as well as Modrzewski and Skarga asked about that. Thus, I can only repeat after those men to whom our Homeland owes so much: it should be orderly, just, deeply connected with the culture of its forefathers, and it should disseminate this culture widely even under difficult circumstances. And it must strive for understanding, for social and national harmony. We are speaking about understanding when people's judgments and attitudes are different, so let us not avoid the statement that not all people think and reason alike. But, after all, some common denominator has to be found if we want to bounce back from the bottom. Today let it be the desire to convince the world once more that Poland will find enough obstinacy in itself to outlast the hard times and enough energy and industriousness to rise to the surface.

We rebuild Warsaw at an unbelievable rate during the course of barely 12 years or so, and rubble was the timber for the first houses. I want to believe that after the storm which passed through our country we can rebuild a better, truly just republic--even from wind-fallen wood, and the cement for the various splinters will be love for the Homeland, which is indestructible and will continue in us, Poles, as long as we live.

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CSO: 2600/297

COMMENTARY ON KOR ORGANIZER'S 'DER SPIEGEL' INTERVIEW NOTED

AU131322 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9-10 Jan 82 p 7

[Commentary by "DAL": "Blumensztajn's Cynicism and DER SPIEGEL Rejoinder"]

[Text] This year's first issue of the weekly DER SPIEGEL, the largest in the FRG (with a circulation of about a million copies), published an interview with Seweryn Blumensztajn, one of the extremist "advisers" to the Solidarity leadership, which is shocking in its contents. Blumensztajn is now in the West and is taking part in the anti-Polish propaganda launched by centers hostile to our country.

That was also the purpose of his pronouncements in DER SPIEGEL. However, as a result of Blumensztajn's undisguised cynicism and adventurous infatuation, even the editors of the bourgeois DER SPIEGEL, who have repeatedly published materials against socialist Poland, found it necessary to rebuff the most absurd statements made by that "oppositionist from the very beginning" and joint organizer of the KOR [Committee for the Defense of Workers]. Here are samples of Blumensztajn's pronouncements.

At the very outset he went so far as to use the shocking comparison, but characteristic of the circle of his friends, placing the Polish state authorities and... German aggressors on the same plane! In this connection the following dialogue developed:

Blumensztajn: Orders issued by the authorities "remind one of the Hitlerite occupation in World War II. No one in Poland suspected that that would occur again."

DER SPIEGEL: "But those things are incomparable. At that time the Germans dragged thousands of Polish citizens from their homes and shot them to death in the open streets."

But Blumensztajn, 35 years old, born after the war, who received from Poland a chance for a scientific career, continued to slander our country.

Then a polemic developed on the Solidarity leadership's extremist and irresponsible activities noted by DER SPIEGEL editors. The latter noted that the National Commission Presidium at its 3 December session in Radom openly



discussed the "seizure of political power." Blumensztajn only regretted that no steps were taken then to prevent the leakage of those antistate pronouncements to the general public, because they should have been "of a conspiratory nature."

DER SPIEGEL drove Blumensztajn into a corner: "Why did not the union, for 16 months, try to prove that trade unionists should have taken pains to increase production and to improve the economic situation?" Blumensztajn unwarrantedly alleged that that was done, but the authorities opposed it. As a result, he lied in his teeth, the "masses of the population" came to press Solidarity extremists "also to raise political demands, in short, to seize political power."

DER SPIEGEL added to that: "Solidarity figure Z. Bujak threatened strikes in the armament industry. Was that a statesman-like attitude in a critical situation?" Blumensztajn pleaded: "It was a kind of internal provocation. That means that Bujak did not take that proposal seriously, but rather wanted to animate the discussion."

DER SPIEGEL: "Exactly, as of December 1980 at the latest, political demands had been presented, which, in view of the political situation, had to be regarded as unreasonable. Was it not a fact that within the trade union movement there were forces whose radical demands contradicted the true goals of a trade union, the cause of the present situation...?"

Obviously, the radicals-moderates division in Solidarity never existed for Blumensztajn, because it was the "masses" that allegedly were radical and who pushed extremists toward a confrontation with the authorities. DER SPIEGEL retorted: "Was the Solidarity appeal to East Europe's peoples to form their own independent trade unions also adopted under pressure on the part of the population?" Blumensztajn found that that was an important "appeal," and namely "in a moral sense." DER SPIEGEL fended that off: "Must moral renewal result in the suspension of political common sense?"

DER SPIEGEL representatives then argued against Blumensztajn and other Solidarity extremists' theses which they assess as "disregarding Poland's geopolitical situation." They asked him if in the pursuit of the goal defined by his fellow extremists as allegedly freedom and independence, he would "also take the risk of a European war," and then: "Was the possibility of a war between the Soviet Union and the Polish people taken into account (in the circle of Blumensztajn's friends--editor's note)?"

Blumensztajn's answer was short: "Ja" (yes)!

After that shocking statement, the question to the adventurous "adviser" was: "What then will happen next in Poland?"

Blumensztajn: "At present, no one is actually working in Poland. Such a situation may still continue for a long time."

DER SPIEGEL: "In this way, the Polish people will starve at some point."

Blumensztajn said cynically: "I do not know any other form of passive resistance."

Thus a Poland engulfed in internal fighting, economically exhausted, starving and condemned to the stake of confrontation between the two blocs in Europe even at the price of causing an armed conflict—those are the theses advocated by extremists and "advisers" to various imperialist special services, now living abroad. These admissions are filled with political, and at the same time anti-peace, adventurism, to such an extent that the editors of the bourgeois DER SPIEGEL found it necessary to make a point of their own reservations about the views of Seweryn Blumensztajn, protege of certain anarchist, leftwing and cosmopolitan circles in the West.

The 13 December decisions have deprived him of the chance to express such confrontation slogans in Poland.

CSO: 2600/353

## HOSPITAL EVACUATION REPORTED BY FINNISH PAPER

PM311057 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 22 Dec 81 p 7

[FINSKA NOTISBYRÅN unnamed "own correspondent" report: "Patients Sent Home From Hospitals"]

[Text] Poznan--A decision by the Polish leaders that as many hospital beds in the country as possible are to be vacated indicates that the military leadership fears new violent clashes.

Patients, young and old alike, were sent home at night a couple of days ago after the curfew had come into force. Doctors were saying that patients were being "smuggled" home.

A consultant at the teaching hospital in Poznan--the central hospital for large areas of western Poland--told FINSKA NOTISBYRÅN's correspondent on Saturday [19 December] that between 35 and 50 percent of all patients had been sent home in this way since the preceding Tuesday.

"They are driven off in military ambulances and other military vehicles," he said.

A woman doctor at the Poznan Children's Hospital confirmed that patients there had also begun to be sent home. This had also been taking place at night.

A start has been made on setting up several temporary hospitals in smaller cities and communities. West of Poznan in the city of Kozminsk--which has a population of around 10,000--the army has equipped a school building with around 200 beds, doctors in Poznan said.

The shortage of health care equipment and drugs is still acute in Poznan. Swedish workers who had been in Poznan delivering aid returned on Sunday night with long lists of the most important medicines the hospitals need.

These are primarily antibiotics, cytotoxins and general and local anesthetic preparations.

"But there are shortages of almost everything the hospitals need," Gun Lindqvist, deaconess of Burloev Parish in Skane, told us. She returned to Ystad on the rail ferry Jan Heweliusz on Monday morning. "Everything from cotton and bandages to hypodermic needles, spare parts and dialysis machines" is needed.

CSO: 3109/110

## SWISS PAPER REPORTS ON OPPOSITION TO CEAUSESCU

Geneva JOURNAL DE GENEVE in French 1 Feb 82 p 1; 2 Feb 82 p 1

[Article by Nicolas Henry: "A Cold Wind Over Romania"]

[Excerpts] A cold wind is blowing over Bucharest which illustrates perfectly the state of mind of the population. The Romanian authorities had followed developments in Poland with increasing anxiety. They were very much afraid that the Polish workers' protest might be contagious. The economic situation in Romania is deplorable; supply problems became much worse in 1981 and Romania, after Poland, is the second socialist country to ask for the rescheduling of the payment of loans from the West. Energy problems have been aggravated during the past year. There have been frequent power outages. The Soviets have not increased their oil deliveries as the Romanians requested. The confiscation of power by the Ceausescu family is an object of criticism. Corruption is at a new level in the hierarchy. The anger of the workers has been manifested several times in recent months: demonstrations in the Jiu Valley, strikes in the area of Motru, with hostile demonstrations directed against Ceausescu who was visiting there.

There is confirmation that violent demonstrations occurred at Giurgiu (on the Danube) as a result of lack of food, and attacks on public buildings occurred in Cluj, Pitesti and Ploiesti. There were even attacks on Securitate functionaries in November in Cluj (two such attacks were confirmed by a most reliable source in Bucharest). The food restrictions are much harder to bear when one knows about the luxury in which the people close to Ceausescu live.

The big problem in Romania is the absence of any structured opposition. As a militant trade union leader from Cluj, a member of an opposition group attempting to re-establish an independent trade union of the SLOMR [Free Trade Union of Romanian Workers] told us: "We have a terrible handicap in our struggle against the Ceausescu regime; we are not organized on the national level.

"As long as we are not in a position to organize simultaneous protest meetings throughout the country," he continued, "as long as the intellectuals and the students do not join the workers in their struggle, we will not be any threat to the regime in power. I fear, most of all, violent reactions because in Romania there is no force which can play the role of a moderator, such as the Church in Poland.



The ever-increasing difficulties in the area of supply, the very severe working conditions, the absence of any sort of trade union to look out for the interests of the workers can promote outbreaks of violence; at the present time, the government has the means to nip every movement in the bud. We are working on the organization of a national trade union opposition movement, a movement which will have ties with the intellectuals and the groups of students who are also fighting against the regime. But time is needed to achieve this union. In the meantime, the forces in power can profit from our isolation to strike at and decapitate the opposition. The events in Poland (I saw this trade union leader in Cluj before 13 December) show us that the organization of a trade union movement is our first task. We are going to join forces with hope of achieving, in 1982, national coordination of trade union members. The regime fears, more than anything else, the organization of a worker opposition movement. The intellectuals and the students are not very dangerous, some cells here and there demand respect for the Helsinki agreements but there is no real organized group."

A young Bucharest student expressed his sadness and discouragement after the events in Poland: "What has just taken place in Poland is a new blow for all those who hoped, outside Poland, too, that a renewal by peaceful means was possible. But this was an illusion. In Romania, there is no political opposition. We cannot look for any organized form which would overthrow this corrupt and discredited regime. Only violence can change things; but we are not yet ready for a decisive confrontation with the regime. The collapse of our illusions in regard to the change of institutions of a socialist country by peaceful means is a terrible thing. We will not give up the struggle but it is necessary to know before beginning the battle that any peaceful outcome is impossible. It is also necessary to work on closer ties with the workers. Only a worker-student union can overthrow the bureaucracy which governs us."

This student, close to a Trotskyite group in Bucharest, represents a minority; most of the students are not organized to fight against the regime. Ultimately, it is perhaps within the Communist Party that the opposition will be seriously organized. It is known that last fall some militants of the Communist Party met in Cluj and decided to strengthen their action within the party. Certainly, it is difficult to estimate the size of the internal protest movement. But it is known that the Ceausescu regime is running up against "more open" elements within the Communist Party who criticize Ceausescu for his total immobility in regard to reforms which should have been carried out years ago. But there are other discontented people in the party: those who have been removed from positions of responsibility by the assumption of important posts by the Ceausescu family.

The discontent is concealed but many party members believe that the confiscation of power by the Ceausescu clan could produce disastrous effects in the future. However, the adversaries within the Communist Party are not yet sufficiently organized to begin to disturb Ceausescu, at the present time anyway. As a colleague of Maurer, the ex-prime minister who fell into disgrace, said: "The tragedy in our case is that there is not one opposition but some opposing forces. There are many discontented people but they are still poorly organized. As long as the opposition is not structured, Ceausescu will do what he wants. He has the best repressive apparatus of the socialist countries. But perhaps 1981 will mark a turning point; the discontented people are realizing that they must unite to be effective. The example of Poland has opened their eyes. But still more time will elapse before the regime will be really threatened."

## NEW BOOKS ON MILITARY THEORY REVIEWED

## RCP Views on National Defense

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Feb 82 p 4

[Article by Gheorghe Zaharia: "A Valuable Contribution in Military Theory"]

[Excerpts] The work "Apararea nationala in conceptia Partidului Comunist Roman" [National Defense as Conceived by the Romanian Communist Party], published by the Military Publishing House and written by some esteemed authors, presents the military doctrine of our party, at the foundation of which are the thought and actions of the secretary general of the party, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the supreme commander of its armed forces, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

By presenting the policy of national defense as a particularly important part of the policy of the Romanian Communist Party of creating and affirming the multilaterally developed socialist state in Romania and of the policy of peaceful collaboration and cooperation on the international level, the authors (Ion Coman, Lt Gen Dr Constantin Olteanu, Maj Gen Dr Ilie Ceausescu, Col Emil Burbulea, and Col Mihai Arsintescu), have proposed to present the subject of the work from its origins, since the present defense policy is a continuation, on a higher level, of long and esteemed traditions.

The volume demonstrates the original contribution of the supreme commander of the armed forces in the establishment of the national military doctrine, the essence of which is the fact that the defense of the country is a work and cause of all the people. In this framework, the significance of themes in regard to the following is relevant: the historic roots of Romanian military doctrine; the dialectical unity of the work of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and the strengthening of the defense capability of the country; the basic principles of the policy of our party and state in the military sphere; the factors on which the defense capability of the country is based; the exercise of the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party over the armed forces and the entire defense system of Romania; the principles of the collaboration of the Romanian armed forces with the armed forces of the socialist countries, the developing countries and other states.

In the first chapter, entitled "The armed struggle of all our people to defend the country in its bimillennial history," the historic evolution of Romanian

military thought is discussed. The current doctrine is considered to be an organic result of an historic formation, the perfection of the guidelines which have guided the indigenous Romanian people, from time immemorial, in their armed battles over the centuries to ensure the maintenance of their identity, their freedom and their survival in their ancestral Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area.

The chapter entitled "Current Romanian military doctrine—a creation of the Romanian Communist Party and of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu" represents the essence of the work. The military doctrine is portrayed as the sum total of the basic principles of the policy of the party and the socialist state in the military sphere, a reflection of the defense requirements of the multilaterally developed socialist society, an integral part of this historic work.

A central place is given to the economic factor—and, especially, to the industrial potential—of the country's national defense capability, the scientific-technical-cultural potential for strengthening the defense capability, demographic contributing factors, geographic conditions, the political and moral resources of the nation, and the national military potential in general as a result of the specific utilization of the sources of strength of the country. It is stated, justifiably, that in light of the need to ensure that the armed forces be equipped with modern combat weapons and technology through their own resources, on the basis of the decisions of the April 1968 plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, for the first time in the history of Romania, the recipient of a precarious legacy from the old socio-political system, the transition was made to the creation of a real defense industry.

Devoted to the national defense system, the last chapter presents the role of the Romanian Communist Party as the exclusive leader of the forces trained for the defense of the country; it presents the army as the pivot of armed power; it analyzes the place and role of the other components of the national defense system and the foreign military relations of the Romanian state. The authors devote extensive space to the justification of the leading role of the party, pointing out that this comes from "the imprescriptibility and indivisibility of the sovereignty of the country; since defense is, by definition, national, then it can be directed only in a national framework."

A particularly important conclusion refers to the forms and procedures of cooperation of all categories of combatant forces with a view to the development of the most effective convergent actions. In regard to the matter of the scope and diversity of defense actions which require the participation of all the people, the authors feel that "in addition to the existing entities, if necessary, other organisms can be created by law which would contribute, in specific ways, to the amplification of the capacities of the people to fight to conquer an aggressor."

Extensive and original, executed in a broadly accessible style, the work goes beyond the framework of discussions of military specialists. It is recommended for political scientists and historians and for all citizens concerned with the fate of the country's defense.

## Harassment of Enemy as Defense Measure

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Feb 82 p 4

[Article by Constantin Cazanisteanu: "Combat Traditions for the Defense of the Ancestral Homeland"]

[Excerpts] The work "Hartuirea in actiunile de lupta duse in razboiul intregului popor pentru apararea patriei" [Harassment in Combat Actions Carried on in the War of All the People for the Defense of the Country"] by Maj Gen Dr Ilie Ceausescu—published by the Military Publishing House—despite the title which might give the impression of book intended exclusively for specialists, is a valuable compilation of military history and doctrine which can be profitably studied by anyone who wants to learn about an effective means of combat in defense of the country. Harassment has always represented—in the war of all the people which characterizes our military past—the most effective and most popular method used by our ancestors to defend their ancient abode. It is still appropriate today when the danger of the unleashing of a nuclear conflict necessitates a suitable military training for the entire population of the country in order to give a determined reply to any aggressor.

In connection with this reality, the author has presented: a wide-ranging view of the millennial combat history of the people, illustrated by the most illustrative actions and lessons; a great amount of documentary material, with examples from the class and national conflicts which have marked the history of mankind; and finally, a broad and penetrating analysis of harassment tactics under today's conditions, both from the conceptual and practical points of view. This is the first time that it has been stated in specialized literature—after minute examination of all factors—that harassment in the war of all the people for the defense of the country is necessary in order to conquer an aggressor who is superior militarily. From this, the conclusion can be drawn that harassment, which up to now has been considered to be an armed manifestation specific to the tactical field actually represents a component of strategic, operational and tactical importance and scope.

The book of Maj Gen Dr Ilie Ceausescu illustrates the resources of the Romanian school of military thought; this volume combines the two great directions of this school—military history and military theory—illustrated by the author with extensive information and thorough analysis.

CSO: 2700/198



## NEED FOR IMPROVING QUALITY OF LABOR STRESSED

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 8 Jan 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by engineer Artur Ioan]

[Text] For more than four years we gradually have assimilated the concept of a new quality--at the start like a desirable and an expression which had become current and then, more and more dominantly, like a way of thinking and taking action. In itself, it is not something unknown, because we learned at the courses of dialectical materialism and historical materialism that, as if by law, one reached the leap in quality from quantitative accumulations. But even if some of us learned the law very well theoretically, the truth is that we did not really know what it would be like, we rather limited it to the historical process or we "carried it out," breaking it up into peripheral areas. The brilliant intervention of our party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the brilliant personification of the exceptional revolutionary, was needed; on 7 December 1977, from the high tribune of the national conference, he showed all of us--communists, working class and all the people--that the time had come for the change of quantitative accumulations into a new quality in all activity. But this transition had to be accomplished by us, the conscientious builders of the socialist society, it itself basically revolutionary throughout its existence. All the later accomplishment of party and state activity confirms the consistency with which action was taken to provide the conditions needed for the transition to a new and higher quality in all areas of economic-social life. The new economic-financial mechanism, self-leadership and self-management, continued improvement in the structures of industrial production and of the entire national economy, broadening of the democratic framework for the masses' participation in decision making, the transition to a new revolution in agriculture, the measures for self-leadership and self-supply territorially, establishment of scientifically substantiated programs for supplying the population with consumer goods, big jobs for the infrastructure, improvement in investment policy, broadening and improving of the legal standards which govern social relations--these are just several of the qualitative aspects of the gigantic effort made in this short interval of time at the level of the party and state leadership for the purpose of consolidating the broad front we have progressed on in all aspects, through the steadfast and heroic work of all the people, particularly in the last three five-year plans.

At any time it is good for us to recall all this, because it is part of our great truths. Because, in one way or another, each of us is a participant in carrying them out. Because the party and its secretary general, in a permanent and direct dialogue with the working class and all workers--another great truth of Romanian society--

openly express their intentions and explain and argue for them and appeal faithfully to the intelligence of the masses and ability for mobilizing them with a view to carrying out all the measures and programs proposed. Because all steps in favor of quality work, of establishing a new mentality regarding economic and social problems and generalization of a civilized type of behavior toward the rules and standards in effect are nothing more than aspects of the Romanian people's sovereign right to have at their disposal, exclusively, both the country's resources as well as all resources and to utilize them at the maximum for their benefit.

Everything occurring within the borders—more than 3,190 kilometers which form Romania on the world map—concerns us. Only us! Headed by the party and together with the party, we—and nobody for us—are establishing what we have to do by stages, by years, by seasons or by quarters. So the time has come for us to concentrate on the problems of order and discipline in production and in all social activity. Not because acts of indiscipline would come one after another, but rather because strengthening of each person's responsibility, improvement in the working atmosphere, establishing of precise technical and legal standards (or more precise ones) proper for the current stage of development and the tasks to be fulfilled are precisely a part of the process of consolidating our great achievements, a process clearly explained by the party's secretary general even in the fall of 1980.

Approaching problems through the prism of recent measures on order, discipline and responsibility in work, we can state that they have a precise unit of measurement: the quality of work (according to which, mutually, we could state: the quality of work is a result of the degree of discipline, of order and a spirit of responsibility which characterize a collective). Any way the concept of quality in this case is more profound than the one we were accustomed to up until not long ago. The quality of work, at its current value, no longer sends us first to the results ("The car is nice, it goes well and does not cost a lot," which actually means the quality of the products, determined by the designer's ability, by his fantasy, by the worker's wisdom) but rather to the conditions. That is: what is done for each man in an enterprise or institute to know both the unit's plan as well as his tasks; with what expenses the product unit must be built and what the structure of these expenses is; what the tasks for export are; what is being done to cover the plan with contracts; what measures are being taken to insure material-technical supply; how the program of reviews and repairs is being carried out for machinery and equipment; how the organization is for having workers learn the technologies for new products and how the rise in people's qualifications is being organized; with what effectiveness the workers' proposals are being reapplied and the results of research, innovations, inventions and initiatives which bring savings or give the products superior performance; how quality control effectiveness is insured as a preventer of unpleasant situations and not only as the determining factor; how control and technical assistance is being carried out to provide respect for technologies, for the standards of work safety and protection and standards for fire prevention; how the record keeping is operating for production, for consumption, for recovery, for reconditioning of reusable materials or utilization of them by other means; what measures are being taken to solve the worker personnel's social problems and so forth. In the gigantic organism of the enterprise, in which each employee, in accordance with the regulations for operation and work contract, has precise duties, starting with members of the workers council and ending with the newest employees in this family of workers, there should not exist any crack which could harm the flow of production and the activity of any economic organization. Just strict fulfillment by each worker, regardless of his job, of the principles, the truths, the standards, the demands,

which are normal and necessary, succinctly formulated above and included broadly in laws, decrees, decisions, orders and regulations, can provide the pace of production, its quality and the improvements imposed by world technical progress. That is why such a great emphasis is being placed on behavior, on freely agreed upon discipline, on knowledge and a spirit of responsibility. Liberty is an understood need. But intelligence, I have said it before, means the ability to understand and to innovate. We all are sons of an intelligent and creative people and for that reason the need for understanding current requirements and the duty facing us and our duty to the collective and to the country do not create problems for us. Those who do not understand see in demands and discipline and in the elementary obligation to do one's duty a kind of restraint. It is not too far from here to violation of interior order, to acts of indiscipline (lack of respect for technology, failure to care for the machinery, losing time elsewhere, the tendency to draw back from effort while others "do their share," as the miners say, immediate failure to fulfill certain tasks or measures requested by higher forums). But, really, if technical standards of work and law are not fulfilled of one's own free will, then coercive measures intervene and the state's restraining force. There is nothing abnormal in this!

Predominantly we refer to the enterprise, because here it is that the variety of the natures and behavior and degree of instruction are greater, but there also is a greater power for mobilization and unity of will! Convinced that the reader will make the necessary reference to any of the country's economic organizations and institutions. And for all categories of personnel. We also predominantly refer to the enterprise because it is here that the quality of work is reflected more than anywhere else in concrete results. Of the numerous articles and reports we have published from leading units, that same atmosphere exists of seriousness and commitment, with each person taking action responsibly to honor his obligations on time and under the best conditions: both the leadership, the workers, and those in supply; both those in sales and export and quality control and functionaries. However, we still are writing (and will continue to write) about those collectives in plants, factories and so forth which are struggling to fulfill their tasks, whose products are of poor quality, who do not always have what they need, who request approvals for supplementary hours--tens of thousands of hours--to find that here too many "problem people" exist, that the machinery does not go, that unmotivated absences and permissions total just about as much as the request for supplementary hours, that materials and even finished products are being removed from right under the guards' noses, that some technicians or office workers "forget" to apply the indications received and so forth. Can one say that there is order and discipline in this kind of unit? No! Can one speak here of "the quality of work?" Well, if you have nothing to measure, then it is no longer a question of having something to measure it with!

We still have similar problems and for that reason we should seriously be concerned with them and with solving them if we want to insure our forward progress in all areas. It is our right and obligation in our country and before our country's citizens.

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CSO: 2700/181



## REASONS FOR INCREASING PRICES OF NEWSPAPERS GIVEN

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Feb 82 pp 1, 5

[Unsigned article: "The Correlation of Prices -- An Objective Requirement for the Development of an Efficient Economic Activity in the Area of the Press"]

[Excerpts] The requirement of profitable, efficient activity is obligatory for all economic units, producers of material and intellectual goods. From this perspective and out of a need to place on incentive-creating economic bases the activity of publishing and printing the press, newspapers and reviews, on the basis of the principle of economic self-administration, so that no unit will work with losses and each unit must make its own contribution to the overall development of the economy, the possibilities of correlating the selling prices and the production prices of newspapers and reviews must be analyzed.

What is the economic situation in this area? The selling prices of the newspapers and reviews were set 15 to 25 years ago. What has happened in the meantime in the economy, in the dynamics of the various component costs of producing a newspaper, is well known. If we take, for example, the financial and economic situation of SCINTEIA, we might note:

In 1965, the expenses involved in producing and selling a 6-page newspaper, which sold for .30 lei were covered by the selling price and there was a profit of almost 30 percent per issue.

In 1981, as a result of increases in the cost of paper, printing, and distribution, as well as successive increases in the wages of the editorial staff and the printers, the current selling price no longer covered the production costs of the paper. A loss of about 15 percent has been incurred. Of course, these changes did not come about by their own doing. The production costs of printing did not increase overnight as a result of less efficient activity. On the contrary, printing workers have acted and continue to act with care and responsibility to establish a strict spirit of economizing, be it ink, paper, or energy; numerous measures have been taken to modernize the printing process and increase the effectiveness of labor.

Here are a few changes which have affected production costs: In the past 8 years alone, the average price of newsprint has increased 2.2 times. The cost of manpower for SCINTEIA increased by 95 percent in 1981 alone, as a result of the application of measures to reassess production costs and printing rates, prices which had remained unchanged for a great number of years. In the past 15 years,



the costs of printing equipment increased five times and printing inks 3 times and, in the past 10 years, the price of imported photosensitive materials quadrupled. To all these must be added the substantial increases in the costs of energy and fuel, as well as the increased remuneration of printers and editorial personnel. So far, we have not referred to another chapter of expenses, namely, expenses for the transporting and distribution of the press. The fastest means of transportation are used--taxis, airplanes, trains. As it is well-known, travel expenses for these means have increased considerably in recent years due to an increase in the prices of electric energy and fuels.

These are a few of the objective economic factors which have resulted in an increase in the production and distribution costs of newspapers and reviews. At present, practically all the central newspapers--SCINTEIA, ROMANIA LIBERA, SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, ELORE and NEUER WEG--as well as the majority of reviews, are carrying on an economically unprofitable activity and are not able to cover production costs with the revenues realized through sales.

It is obviously necessary that the selling prices of newspapers and reviews be set on the basis of real economic criteria, especially since, in comparison with other items of everyday life, these prices have remained almost symbolic. Let us think, for example, about the simple fact that a newspaper costs about one-sixth as much as a bus ticket--1.75 lei. That is, six issues of a newspaper can be bought for the price of a single bus ticket.

In the spirit of the same principles and the same scientific economic criteria, it is natural and it is necessary that the situation of selling prices be analyzed and their natural correlation with production costs be ensured. Of course, an analysis of these things and the adopting of measures presupposes that new ways will be found to improve the content and the appearance of the press, to respond as quickly as possible to the demands of the readers, helping them to learn about and explain events and social phenomena. Along with the analysis and the resetting of the prices of newspapers and reviews on a natural, economic basis, it is necessary that all those who take part in the composition, publication and distribution of the newspaper analyze their own work from an economic point of view and take the most appropriate measures so that criteria of effectiveness, productivity and quality will be resolutely expressed, and it is necessary that they cooperate to ensure the economic effectiveness of this activity, the unceasing perfecting of work in this domain, which is of great importance in informing public opinion, mobilizing workers in the implementation of the tasks for the socio-economic development of the country, set by the party, and in the exemplary implementation of the patriotic exhortations addressed by the secretary general of our party to all the people.

CSO: 2700/193

## ACTIONS FOR REHABILITATION, EMPLOYMENT OF HANDICAPPED

Bucharest REVISTA DE PEDAGOGIE in Romanian Dec 81 pp 53-54

[Article by E. Popercu, V. D. Cristescu, E. Bratescu]

[Text] Actions Carried Out by the Ministry of Education and Instruction:

Through the plan of measures for Romania's marking the international year of handicapped, the Ministry of Education and Instruction, together with the local organs of state power, with the aid of educational factors, has undertaken a number of actions which show the concern being given preschool children and deficient school children in order to participate in instruction and education along with Romania's other children. Directions in which the Ministry of Education and Instruction is taking action continually for a new quality in special education, also, are an increase in the inclusion capacity for special education units, improvement in the content of the educational-instructive process, the vocational training of teaching cadres, supplying of the educational institutions with the necessary apparatuses for teaching-learning and the recovery, and improvement in the living conditions of the pupils.

So, for the 1981-1982 school year the inclusion capacity in special schools has risen by 6,700 places compared with the last school year. Bearing in mind that the process for recovery of handicapped children is being carried out better and with better results at an early age, the Ministry of Education and Instruction also has created the possibility for including 2,000 deficient preschool children in special kindergartens, with more than 800 children more than last year.

Instructive-educational activities and recovery activities organized and carried out in the special schools are included in the area of efforts being made--in education in general--for better linking it with life and practical activity to form and promote the usefulness of this category of pupil in the labor process and his adaptation to the conditions offered by the sociocultural environment and his self-regulation.

In conformity with the general goals of special education, the children with defects are insured an adequate content on the basis of educational plans and school curricula, which give them the opportunity for a better socio-vocational integration alongside normal persons in work and activities appropriate for their abilities and level of development. In this regard, new educational plans and school curricula have been worked out which are being applied frontally in all classes and types of schools starting in this 1981-1982 school year. The percentage of practical activities and specific activities to correct certain deficiencies and to stimulate and compensate for the functions of certain analyzers are well defined in the educational plans and

school curricula and they are to be utilized in their totality by the working team in each education unit.

Advanced training courses to improve the work of teaching cadres in the special schools were organized this summer by the universities in Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca and Iasi with the aid of the Institute for Pedagogical and Psychological Research of the school inspectorates, in which more than 500 instructors and approximately 1,800 professors participated.

Also among the many manifestations which confirm the concern with improving work with handicapped pupils are the exchanges of interschool experience, thematic meetings, sessions of reports and reports, roundtables and meetings with specialists in education, health and research.

For example, in July an exchange of experience with the directors of auxiliary schools from all counties took place in Bucharest. A symposium was organized at the auxiliary school to the children's home in Turnu Rosu, Sibiu County, on the subject of "Teaching Techniques Used in the Auxiliary School," in which representatives from 17 counties participated, while a working meeting at the school for the deaf in Satu Mare took place on the subject of "Current problems in the education and social integration of handicapped children and young people," in which specialists took part from all the country's schools for the deaf. Report meetings were successfully held in Bucharest, organized by Auxiliary School No 8 on the subject "Improvement in Teaching Methods for the Recovery Process of Mentally Deficient" and, in Timisoara, organized by the school inspectorate and the teaching personnel home on the subject "Optimization of the recovery of the preschool handicapped and handicapped pupils."

Similar demonstrations also took place at the school for the hearing impaired in Craiova, the Balsa auxiliary school, Auxiliary School No 12 in Bucharest, and they are to continue in other educational units.

Discussions on the subject "Methods and Procedures used in special education for the instruction, education and recovery of children with deficiencies with a view to their socio-vocational integration" were organized in all counties this fall at the meetings of teaching cadres for special education.

Special concern also was given to supply with specific teaching materials and apparatuses needed to carry out the instructive-educational and recuperative process. Three new devices were built on subjects for mastering of linguistic structures, development of speech and correction of physical defects.

With the aid of the Medical Center for Phono-Audiology and Functional Surgery in Bucharest, all children in the special kindergarten for the hearing impaired in Bucharest were given prostheses, with this action also to take place in the other kindergartens and schools in Romania for the hearing impaired children. Of the 14 schools for the deaf and the hearing impaired pupils, 6 were supplied with polycompensators built by the University of Cluj-Napoca in collaboration with the Sadu Industrial Secondary School, with other schools for the hearing impaired also to receive them.

The assimilation plan of the central office for learning tools, also provided for other means of instruction for the special schools, among which we mention an apparatus for training visual perception, a verbal stimulator, a tachistoscope for exercising the optic function, kits for learning phonetic structures and for sensory education and games for the blind. Prof. Elena Popescu, chief inspector, Ministry of Education and Instruction.



## Ministry of Labor:

Both during the 1970-1980 International Decade of Recuperation as well as for the International Year of the Handicapped in 1981, the measures undertaken for the benefit of deficiencies were intensified and, in particular, conditions were improved for the protection, functional readaptation, schooling and qualification in special education units, with a view to insuring they are fitting into active life.

In order to improve the structure and content of training the recoverable deficient, optimum length of time for special and obligatory education were established this year for qualification in special vocational schools and the listing of trades was worked out as well as new education plans and school curricula adapted to the possibilities for instructing the deficient students and for the national economy's requirements for a labor force. So, starting in the 1981-1982 school year, depending on the vocational orientation on the basis of medical expertise and ability to work, deficient students can be qualified in more than 60 trades in 14 different areas of training: mechanical, electrotechnical, light and food industry, construction and construction materials, in the health area, craftsmen's cooperative and in agriculture.

The new education plans have given a large number of hours to the discipline specific to recuperators, thus creating the functional conditions for the deficient student throughout his special schooling. At the same time, we should note that 75 percent of the technological-theoretical and, in particular, practical training in the vocational schools is in instruction in shops and in production, occupying better than two-thirds of the total number of hours in the new plans.

The schooling capacity rose by more than 1,000 places in order to include a larger number of deficient students in special education units organized by the Ministry of Labor and through better use of space.

In the summer of 1981 more than 5,000 deficient children were sent to camps and colonies. Among the demonstrations dedicated to the international year we note the symposiums and colloquiums, report sessions such as the ones which were held in Iasi, Jucu-Cluj County--and Ineu-Arad County--on problems of the complex recovery -- medical, psychopedagogical, vocational and social--of the motor and mentally deficient. More than 130 specialists from higher education, research institutes, special schools, health units and so forth participated in these demonstrations. The most diverse aspects of the methods for the recovery of the deficient were discussed on these occasions, through special education, and the main directions for increasing their social effectiveness were presented.

Short films which won awards in national and international competitions were made through the Red Cross, Association for the Deaf and county trade union organs along the line of publicizing certain aspects from the school activity and lives of the deficient.

Both within the international year as well as to fulfill the recommended long-term goals of the United Nations, efforts are being made with a view to the integration of the deficient, as much as possible, through their own forces into society, along with the healthy, stimulating their direct participation in providing appropriate working and living conditions. Prof V.D. Cristescu, head of the Service for Recovery of the Deficient.



## Ministry of Health:

In collaboration with the World Health Organization, the UN program for development, two pilot stations for the recovery of children with average mental deficiencies have been organized and are in operation in Bucharest and Iasi.

At the Gura Ocnitei Sanatorium in Dimbovita County, a unit with a tradition in the recovery of motor-deficient children, the capacity has been extended to board small children (under 3 years of age), given the known results which can be obtained in recovery at an early age.

A symposium was organized (this May) at the Hospital for Neuropsychic Children in Siret on the subject of "The recovery, medical and socio-vocational readaptation of the Neuropsychomotor-deficient child."

Exhibits at the following health units: Siret Hospital, Gura Ocnitei Sanatorium, the Lugoj Neuropsychiatric Hospital in Lugoj County and Pielisa-Hateg in Hunedoara County--were organized with things made by the children and young people who are patients and the capacity of the Covasna Hospital for Cardiovascular Diseases for recovery of the cardiovascular patients has expanded.

The program has been worked out for the promotion and protection of mental health for adults and children for the 1981-1990 period.

A symposium was organized at the Herculane resort, while a colloquium was held in Eforie Nord on the indications for balneary treatment in the recovery of rheumatic deficiencies.

A symposium took place in Iasi on the use of natural factors and the organization of recuperative treatment in this zone.

Methods have been worked out to prevent delays in psycho-motor development and in the structure for a pathologic development in children through the introduction and application of differentiated programs for providing incentives in the group: cities, children's homes, kindergartens.

Together with the Ministry of Education and Instruction, a broader knowledge of special teaching (through advanced training courses) by the teaching cadres is being sought; they are being employed in neuropsychiatric hospitals, sanatoriums for neuroses as well as special kindergartens and schools.

The action is continuing to establish special kindergartens in each county as well as differentiated classes depending on the intellectual level of the children of the same age and handicap. Dr Elisabeta Bratescu, inspector general.

8071

CSO: 2700/173

## REVIEW OF 1970-1980 LITERARY SCENE BY IASI PAPER ATTACKED

Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 15 Jan 82 p 7

[Article by Dan Zamfirescu: "The Meanings of Tradition and Protochronism"]

[Text] A Critic's Reply

The journal CONVORBIRI LITERARE No 11, 1981 started a discussion of the literary decade of 1970-1980 in Romanian culture. Liviu Leonte and Alex. Stefanescu were the first to express themselves. It is not my intention here to analyse the spirit and purport of both the introductory comments (The first one is not without interest in this respect either), but I find that in violation of the chronology proposed by the journal (See the outline on page 3 signed "Rep") Alex. Stefanescu chooses 1971-1981 as his limits, and not by chance: There is a well-known theory (well known because it has a disseminating center that never ceases to repeat it through the mouths of men that is also quite notorious) to the effect that (We use Alex. Stefanescu's words this time because they come to the same thing) "From 1971 on the literary scene lost much of the festive ebullience that characterized it in the previous decade. The Renaissance spirit was gradually replaced by a strained atmosphere, in the sense of both the persistence of the diletant and the concentration of the sophisticated writer striving for virtuosity." Despite this "strained" atmosphere, we also learn from Alex. Stefanescu that "The changes, some of them spectacular, that took place in the writings of some authors with already defined personalities gave proof that the heart of literature was still beating." Accordingly Alex. Stefanescu is a partisan of the theory that a knife was thrust into the heart of Romanian literature in 1971, and it is clear to anyone that he is alluding to the "July Theses" and the Plenum of the Central Committee of 3-5 November. And to remove all doubt, Al. Dobrescu supplements that in the next issue of the same journal. For both of them the heart of Romanian literature nevertheless "... continued to beat thanks to the heroism of some fellow militants who made a cause and a more or less express program of their reservations and opposition to the course then lent to the development of Romanian culture, while the 'conformists' took the other side."

Accordingly in 1971 "The journals became more serious in the formal sense of the word. Analysis of obscure mental states, fantasy, humor and all that pertained to the cult of individuality characteristic of the European spirit came to be regarded as evidence of frivolity, so that those who professed it had, or pretended to have, a kind of sense of guilt." It was a kind of emptying of Romanian literature, therefore, "of all that pertained to the cult of individuality characteristic of the European spirit!"

When confronted with such statements you can but wonder whether CONVOIRURI LITERARE has an editor, an editor-in-chief or even a "clear head."

Who are guilty of creating the atmosphere described above? Alex. Stefanescu tells us immediately, and he is not original here either. "Actually the old conflict was repeated between traditionalists and modernists, between ruralists and city dwellers, between the supporters of the 'message' and those of expressiveness. Just as Titu Maiorescu was surrounded by hostility in the second half of the last century when he criticized the 'sincere,' impetuous and disorganized literary output before him, and as Eugen Lovinescu was accused of cosmopolitanism between the two wars because he attached more importance to the criterion of aesthetic value, in the decade we are considering interpretation of literature as literature caused a kind of irritation. Even if there are other traditionalists and modernists now (We use those terms conventionally, and the actual situation is much more complex), the main characteristics of their attitude have not changed."

Who is irritated by the "interpretation of literature as literature" and who, on the other hand, are the new Maiorescus and new Lovinescus who are their victims? We let Alex. Stefanescu tell us that too: "The first category, represented by writers like Eugen Barbu, Mihai Ungheanu, Ion Lancranjan, Ion Gheorghe, Paul Anghel, Gheorghe Pitut, Adrian Paunescu and Dan Zamfirescu, is characterized by transformation of literature into a "mission," by an ostensible seriousness, and by complete and strenuous solidarization of the militants. The second category, including for example Marin Preda, Nichita Stanescu, Nicolae Breban, Ov. S. Crohmalniceanu, Paul Georgescu, Nicolae Manolescu, Gabriel Dixisiaru, Lucian Raicu, Valeriu Cristea and Mirosin Dinescu, is mainly distinguished by its sense of relativity of opinions, playful spirit, and acceptance of the possibility of entertaining different views and yet maintaining cordial relations. The traditionalists disdain style as a form of bureaucracy of writing that prevents them from expressing an agitated ideological or moral content. On the other hand the modernists master the art of composing a text so well that it is expressed effortlessly, as if in jest. The traditionalists are involved and always want to prove that they have culture. The modernists are at ease and only want to display an unsophisticated frankness."

"In the 1970's the writers I have called traditionalists launched a powerful offensive, waving like a flag the term "protochronism" with which they tried to accredit the idea that Romanian literature had anticipated almost all the literary trends in the world. The writers I have called modernists tried in vain to explain that true dedication to Romanian literature is shown by judging it as clearly as possible and that any overbidding runs the risk of demonetization. Through incorrect but effective use of noise, insinuation, unfounded accusations, and persistence carried to extremes as polemic weapons, the traditionalists dominated the period in the sense that their human presence obscured the literary presence of the others and even their own literary presence."

And so, although we all agree in principle and in statements with the necessity of a climate of collaboration and solidarity in the literary guild, although a unity of constructive cultural effort implying neither standardization nor leveling but requiring a minimal capacity to rise to the demands of the occasion has been clearly promoted by the party, and though we have been emphatically told that Romanian culture needs all creators without discrimination and arbitrary divisions, here the last journal is doing exactly the opposite. A neo-Manichaeism of literary life is proposed to us (and in what a manner!), with actually worthless criteria. For it is immediately apparent how false and arbitrary the division proposed by Alex. Stefanescu is.



Even by the critic's descriptions, Marin Preda has nothing to do with "modernists." To place him at the head of the list is an abuse and an almost indecent affront to the readers, who know very well that neither "The Morometi Family" nor "The Impossible Return" are "modernist" works but, like the work of Ion Lancranjan, who was a traditionalist, the supreme embodiment (in the cycle of Romanian literature open to revolutionary reforms since August 23) of the most authentic traditionalism, that promoted by Maiorescu, Eminescu, Slavici, Cosbuc, Goga, Sadoveanu, Iorga, and Blaga, for whom the peasant class was the foundation and inexhaustible source of the highest values of the Romanian spirit, the altar that must be frequented and protected from harm by all those who love this people and believe in their present and future. Preda never played with his art, nothing was more foreign to him than the "playful spirit," and even if we refer to the traditionalists' "negative" features pointed out by the critic, who had the "culture complex" to a greater degree than this admirable peasant who graduated from normal school, wanted to express his opinion of Cervantes, Nietzsche and everybody, and was happy only when he was compared with the most bookish authors in world literature? But we will not claim that Preda belongs to the "group" that Alex. Stefanescu tries to define, for while he was one of the great "traditionalists" in "the life of literature" who transcended the schools and trends by synthesizing tradition and modernity from the height of his genius (which was also done by Maiorescu, Eminescu, Arghezi, Sadoveanu, Blaga and even Goga), in the sum of the petty prejudices, hatreds, rivalries and competitions between individuals that unfortunately became the "literary life" Marin Preda was a "neutral," with one serious exception that will darken his memory as a man because he became a party to an attempt at moral assassination of a colleague. But his dismal end leads us to overlook that episode, although we suppose that he has it to thank for the posthumous honor of figuring as "chief of the tribe" in Alex. Stefanescu's classifications.

But we do claim that Ioan Alexandru belongs on the list, and not to remove a major weight from the scales, we shall in turn add the names of Dan Haulica, Eugen Simion and Mircea Zeciu to the opposite scale (in all fairness!), while remembering that while Nichita Stancescu belongs among the modernists in "the life of literature," in "literary life" he opted for the group much abused by the inspirer of Alex. Stefanescu's theories, with the well-known consequences from "modernist" criticism.

Actually Alex. Stefanescu's lists compel us to note the voluntary or involuntary confusion in his head between the meanings of a "literary group" and a literary policy group, which confusion led to the attempt to falsify, under our eyes, some facts known to everyone! How else to explain the silence about some of the most prominent names of present-day Romanian culture like Marin Sorescu and Egar Papu when you claim to be describing for readers the nature of a literary decade and to be determining the elements of a literary evolution that led to the formation of that nature? Because he cannot enter them abusively on the "modernist" list like Marin Preda and neither does he wish to risk seeing them entered on the opposite list by the reader, in which case the scales would nearly turn a somersault with such weights and with Ioan Alexandru in addition? Obviously neither Egar Papu nor Marin Sorescu conforms to the descriptions of the "modernist" group formed by Alex. Stefanescu nor to the "traditionalist" one either, for the simple reason that the author of the respective classifications and "descriptions" has no notion of the meanings of the terms he uses or of their dialectics in the evolution of Romanian culture.

But if we relate the two to the great tradition of Romanian culture we understand why the author of "The Lilies" as well as the author of "Romanian Protochronism" belong among those whose works combine "traditionalist" and "modernist" in an organic



synthesis. Since Alex. Stefanescu could not enter the "ruralist" Sorescu or the "protochronist" Papu on the list of modernists (What a scandal it would have been for the others on the list, all militant antiprotochronists!), he preferred to pass over them in silence. To be sure he will reply that we find them cited in the next paragraph, "Books That Remain," but the stratagem does not succeed, for when you make the "offensive" under the banner of protochronism a determining factor for a "domination" by a literary school and group, which domination you present in terms of a whole decade (although the "offensive" did not begin until 1977!), you cannot ignore the very one who conceived the idea that became the banner! If a humanistic cultural figure was a determining element of literary-ideological dialectics in the decade of 1970-1980, if one man "dominated" that decade by his ability to stir up the waters by refreshing and oxidizing them, and if a seed was cast on the soil of Romanian culture essential to its future development, then that humanistic cultural figure, that man and that sower was Prof Edgar Papu. And it is not a question solely of the book (excluded from the list of those "that remain"! ) that started the great debate and confrontation about "Romanian protochronism," nor solely of the essay of international stature on the baroque, both gloriously illustrating the decade in which "the heart of literature continued to beat, but especially of the direct involvement and staunch militancy, unequivocal and without reservations, not intimidated by threats, not to be bought with "special prizes" and inflexible before "friendly advice," of which this exceptional mind, this great personality of our time gave proof. Must we remind Alex. Stefanescu of the "round tables" of *LUCEAFARUL* or the discussions at the Museum of Romanian Literature? Must we remind him of Prof Papu's critical articles in support of the books of his fellow militants, among which the one about Paul Anghel's novel "The Rivers" aroused free Europe? How can the decade of 1970-1980 be explained without Edgar Papu, and how can his name be missing from the head of the list that owes its categorical structuring to his major contribution?

But let us leave the lists and and discuss in greater detail the "descriptions" and the "scenario" of the decade as imagined (and in the terms in which it was expressed!) by Alex. Stefanescu and accepted by the editors of *CONVERSI LITERARE*.

While the "modernists," as Alex. Stefanescu says, like to "affect an unsophisticated frankness," their adherents in the gallery seem given not to affectation but to the very reality of "unsophistication," associated however not with frankness but with a stubborn irresponsibility that grows apace. Let us cite some examples.

The first category is characterized by "complete and strenuous solidarization of the militants," while the modernists cultivate the pleasant quality of "acceptance of the possibility of entertaining different views and yet maintaining cordial relations." Does Alex. Stefanescu not know what happened to Michita Stanescu as soon as he refused to join a joint action of the "modernists"? Has he not even heard of the oath of the group of critics who pledged themselves at the National Colloquium on Literary Criticism never to mention Paul Anghel's name or the titles of his books? Incredible! Here I read his list of "Books That Last" from the decade under discussion and I do not even find one of Paul Anghel's books, although "Cultural Conversations," "The New Sentimental Archive," "A Moment in China" and the great cycle dedicated to Romania's independence entitled "The Snows of a Century Ago" were published in that period. Perhaps he does not consider them good enough to "remain" either as essays or as literature because his standard is much higher! How high, according to him, is the standard of Ileana Vrancea's "Confrontations in the Criticism of the Fourth and Fifth Decades," Eugen Negrici's "Involuntary Expressiveness," and Miromir Cartarescu's "Shopwindows, Reasons and Photographs," if they are going to remain?

Neither will the books of the undersigned remain, namely "History and Culture" (1975), "Independence and Culture" (1977), "Via Magra" (1979), and "Contributions to the History of Old Romanian Literature" as well as "N. Iorga. Steps Toward a Monograph" (1981). Agreed! But when it is a matter of the "profile" of a group and its style, and especially of a whole literary battle, that over protochronism, I maintain that I should at least be read beforehand when I am involved in a scenario applied to an entire decade. Neither Paul Anghel nor the undersigned is knowingly "disdaining style" or regarding it as "a kind of bureaucracy of writing," nor is it my impression that Eugen Barbu or Adrian Paunescu sweat copiously to squeeze a sentence out of a pen. As for Ioan Alexandru, how many writers of today can compare with him in the ability to stir by words spiritual depths and thoughts that are quite inaccessible and incomprehensible to the "playful spirit"?

Now we come to the passage where the irresponsibility of the critical statement is almost criminal. It is the "scenario" imagined by Alex. Stefanescu, to the effect that the eighth decade was dominated by "traditionalists"! Dominated in what way? Not in any case in the experience of the Writers Union! Anyone who reads the list of literary prizes in that period will find that they were distributed on a seasonal basis, one year yes and one year no (no in the year when the respective persons were on the jury), to nearly the same people, on the list or in the orbit of the list of modernists. Personally I never received any prize from the Writers Union or the Bucharest Association, which bothered me, I attest, in only one instance, when I was a candidate along with G. Mihaila and Florica Moisil for the literary history prize for the publication of "Neagoe Basarab's Teachings"! Then an academician poet rose who was on the jury and said that Matei (sic!) Basarab had nothing to do with the Writers Union and that he was a voievod and not a writer. It troubled me that there was no one on the jury to explain to him the difference between Neagoe and Matei Basarab. But the jury was composed exclusively of modernists, and they were silent, affecting unsophistication frankly.

It could be that the "traditionalists" actually "dominated" that decade, but in any case, not in the "literary life" but in the "life of literature." I think this is indicated by the use of that "very powerful offensive" under the banner of "protochronism" as an argument, which offensive did not begin until the summer of 1977, when Nicolae Manolescu ridiculed Prof. Egar Papu's book "From Our Classics. Contributions to the Idea of a Romanian Protochronism," and when Paul Anghel delivered the resounding reply that threw the match on dynamite. But the way Alex. Stefanescu presents this phenomenon, which he (and not we) presents as a sign of the traditionalists' domination, indicates more than the critic's "unsophistication" in the history of the last literary decade, with which he was a contemporary too old to have the excuse of mental immaturity. It indicates his total lack of professional honesty and unveiled slavery to a "pattern" and to a pack of assertions absolutely all of which were collected "by ear."

It is the last paragraph we quoted, the paragraph generously received by the editors of a journal that bears the illustrious name of the one on which Maiorescu, Eudescu, Creanga and Caragiale worked in exalting and promoting Romanian culture, that series of unwarranted assertions that demonstrates how precarious is the claim that the "modernists" can respect others' opinions and discuss them cordially and solely in the realm of ideas. To write in black and white that the attempt is made through protochronism "to accredit the idea that Romanian literature anticipated almost all the literary trends in the world!" is to lie brazenly in reliance on the idea that the same feeling of repugnance and contempt that deters us from replying to similar attacks "on short waves" will also ensure the Bucharest critic's impunity. Well, it

does not ensure it! Let Alex. Stefanescu produce the proof of his statement, if he actually knows the problem from sources other than free Europe, where the quoted sentence serves as a leitmotif!

It is also stated that "Boise, insinuation, unwarranted accusations and persistence carried to extremes were incorrectly but effectively used as polemic weapons." Does Alex. Stefanescu think that no one will venture to read the "file" of this literary discussion that actually opened up new horizons to Romanian culture of the postwar period? As far as I am concerned, all the respective texts are now assembled in "Via Magna" and I defy Alex. Stefanescu to find therein a single argument for the foregoing statements. Nor will he find Eugen Simion's memorable "ceara sa-sii" [?] used against protochronism in quoting Stanica Ratiu from the rostrum of the National Colloquium on Literary Criticism and History, nor Dan Naulica's insinuation that to try to demonstrate that the Romanian creative genius can not only receive and "synchronise" itself with what others have initiated but also open up new paths at certain times (and by no means at all times and on all levels!) is to imitate Mussolini's "fascist 20 years"! And who, 4 years ago, could not open his mouth without casting a slur on protochronism, like a thorn in the side or a splinter under the nail of I do not know whose sensibilities, inclinations or interests? As a matter of fact the most unwavering complaints about protochronism are still coming from its adversaries, down to the last recruit, who even impute to it a "domination" over the decade of which the protochronists are entirely unaware! We who participated then in the "battle over protochronism" tried to argue the idea not by the presence of the person but by the effort of the personal work. But Alex. Stefanescu pretends that he has not heard about that and then thinks he is justified in saying what he says.

The critical aggression in CONVOBIRI LITERARE presents a problem, however, that must be given consideration: Should such a difficult task as analysing a literary decade essential to the entire future of Romanian culture not only because of what it bestowed, such as works, ferment of ideas and intellectual ebullience, but also because it placed that culture in a new and truly universal orbit, which it is following with more and more resolute steps in a climate of creative freedom, respect for opinions and even a more than eloquent tolerance of some (See the very texts we are discussing and others in other journals!), should such a task not have been entrusted to writers other than those "very young youths" who are talented to be sure but still unformed and unfortunately uninformed, so that they fall victims to extraliterary motivations that particularly vitiate their ability to perceive reality and analyze it correctly? Unless we are confronted (And we shall see next time) with a quite different intention than that of discussing a "literary decade" and then, as it sometimes happens, employing children who do not yet know the meanings of the words and do not consider their consequences either.

5186

CSO: 2700/170



## NEAMT STUDENTS POLLED ON RELIGIOUS BELIEFS, ACTIVITIES

Bucharest SCINTELA TINERETULUI in Romanian 3 Feb 82 p 2

[Article by Serban Cionof: "From Findings to Concrete, Effective Action"]

[Excerpts] It is significant that in the context of increasing the concern of the Union of Communist Youth organizations for the materialist-scientific and revolutionary-humanist education of the youth, their concern with learning the objective and subjective causes and motivations for the presence of mystical-religious phenomena in the consciousness of some young people has also been diversified. Of interest in this regard are the results of an investigation made by two students in industrial secondary school No 2 in Roman Municipality in Neamt County, Gianina Ciupitu and Florentina Enea.

The investigation used as a point of departure the empirical finding that some students still have attitudes derived from unscientific beliefs, superstitions, belief in supernatural forces which are apart from objective existence. But their number is small. One of the explanations for the persistence of such phenomena lies in the fact that there are in Neamt County a number of religious sects and faiths which exert a harmful influence over the minds of the youth.

The incompatibility between membership in the Union of Communist Youth and mystical-religious beliefs, which annihilate the will of man, especially in the youth, depersonalize him and paralyze his creative, free thought was kept in mind. The questionnaire had questions on the personal data of the subjects, their participation in socio-cultural and scientific activities, their involvement in political and community activities, aspects of the personality of the subject in relation to his socio-political milieu and his level of professional and cultural-scientific training, a positive or negative attitude toward religious activities, including cases of an objective and subjective nature which generate the acceptance or rejection of religious concepts, views on the formation of materialistic-scientific ideas and convictions. The data obtained made it possible to draw some conclusions which will be useful in intensifying the work of the materialistic-scientific education of the youth in the secondary school.

It is interesting to note that the analysis undertaken was structured into four categories: a) attitudes toward superstitions, belief in astrology, miracles, fortunetelling. Here, belief in the supernatural is vague; b) acceptance without reservation of the existence of supernatural forces on which the fate of the



universe depends, without actually participating in religious rites; c) religious convictions expressed by regular attendance at religious rites; d) lack of belief in a supernatural power.

The question: "Why do you think that some people go to church or other places connected with religious sects?" received responses from believers such as: "out of conviction," "they find a refuge," or "to save their souls," etc. and a firm reply, expressed by those who do not have any religious belief, such as "because they do not have anything else to do," "lack of knowledge," "poor ideological and scientific training," as well as "lack of education."

The investigation attempted to discover to what extent manifestations of religious belief took concrete form in active participation of young people in religious activities. This was the purpose of the question: "Do you go to church or other places connected with religious sects?" The responses revealed that only a very small percentage of those surveyed were involved in religious activities. But, one should not disregard the fact that some of the young people, without participating regularly in religious rites, attend churches or other places connected with religion "on certain occasions" and "now and then," especially under the influence of the family. Nevertheless, it is very hard to demonstrate that young people who sometimes participate in religious services have religious convictions.

What conclusions can be drawn, for the purpose of improving the political and educational work of the Union of Communist Youth organizations?

The category of young people which requires special attention is the category with definite religious convictions, manifested by active participation in religious rites, having as specific characteristics the depersonalization of options, alienated awareness, and ideals of life which are overwhelmingly religious. The laicization of these young people, interesting them in a concrete, active, humanistic ideal, based on the truth, transforming their awareness from a misguided awareness into one which is secular and revolutionary, is the only possibility for their affirmation and development within the collective of students and the Union of Communist Youth organizations.

The authors of the investigation believe that the same attention should be given to young people who show signs of religious feelings. There should be a special scientific-materialistic and revolutionary humanistic activity geared toward youths from 14 to 25 years of age who show mystic-obscurantistic tendencies, while not ignoring other categories of young people.

CSO: 2700/199

# CONTROVERSY OVER PUBLICATION OF POEM ATTRIBUTED TO NICOLAE LABIS

[Editorial Report] On 18 December, SAPTAMINA, the weekly review of the Committee for Socialist Culture and Education of Bucharest Municipality, whose chief editor is Eugen Barbu, devoted pages 4 and 5 to an article about the popular poet, Nicolae Labis, who died in 1955, at the age of 21, in a trolley-car accident. The review also publishes a photo of Labis and the first 18 cantos of "Cintec de Lebada" [Swan Song], purported to be an unpublished work of the poet.

However, in the 1 January issue of SAPTAMINA one member of the Labis family and the "real" author of the poem, take issue with the review as follows:

"Dear chief editor,

The family of the poet Nicolae Labis express their bewilderment in connection with an article which appeared in SAPTAMINA No 576 of 18 December 1981 under the title 'The Poetics of the Essentials of Life,' signed by Ion Lotreanu, to which was added, under the heading 'UNPUBLISHED LABIS' a poem, 'Swan Song,' falsely attributed to Nicolae Labis.

As Aurel Covaci, the real author of the text published, acknowledges, it is a matter of personal writings, written by Covaci in 1957, without any intention of having them published.

The family of the poet Nicolae Labis express their astonishment and indignation because of this serious error as well as other inaccuracies in the commentary on the text published.

We consider the entire attitude of Ion Lotreanu to be an act of irreverence toward the memory of the poet Nicolae Labis and we are responding by this means to all readers of SAPTAMINA who have called the matter to our attention.

Prof Margareta Labis

I share the bitterness of the poet's family and demand, on my part, that explanations be given to the readers. The verses belong to me; they constitute personal writings and I never intended to publish them.

Aurel Covaci"

But, in an article entitled "Without Wrath," published in the 8 January issue of SAPTAMINA, page 7, Ion Lotreanu emphasizes that, as he wrote in the introductory article to "Swan Song," he had his doubts about the authorship of the poem "In the orange notebook containing the poem 'Swan Song,' only the signature placed under the introductory motto was written by the hand of Labis. The rest, that is, the entire poem, was written by Aurel Covaci."

"Without Wrath" is followed by a letter from Virginia Labis which reads as follows:

"Comrade chief editor,

In connection with the verses which appeared in No 576 of SAPTAMINA under the signature of Niculaie [sic] Labis, I am communicating the following: The respective notebook was entrusted to me by my sister Carmen who was present in the hospital when my nephew dictated and Aurel Covaci wrote. The signature of N. Labis is on the first page of the notebook, which was why I have kept the manuscript with care. I do not know exactly how much belongs to Labis who dictated and how much belongs to Aurel Covaci who wrote. There are some lines dictated in the hospital and published in books which are very similar to the poem 'Swan Song' which no one would doubt belong to Labis."

An article by Pacurariu, "The Art of Translation," published in Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA 11 February 1982, page 20, also refers to the "erroneous attribution" of the excerpts from "Swan Song":

"Today, at 50 years of age, Aurel Covaci can say that he has translated more than 150,000 lines of poetry into the Romanian language from other languages, if we consider only what has been published in volumes. The devotion of Aurel Covaci to his art as a translator has even reached the point of exaggeration, causing him to refrain from publishing cycles of original poetry he has written over the years. The recent publication--with the erroneous attribution of the text to Nicolae Labis--of some fragments from a long poem written in his youth has revealed, unexpectedly, a hidden side of the translator, that of an original poet whose talent has been brought forth by a few comments, even if the enthusiasm of the commentators was, to a certain extent, increased by the great name of the person to whom this text was erroneously attributed and by a naturally festive moment. Now, when Aurel Covaci is crossing the threshold toward the sixth decade of his life, we consider that the adding of the dimension of his original creation to the broad horizon of his indefatigable activity as a translator is not only a necessity but, also, an obligation."

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## SAD LIFE OF EMIGRES IN ISRAEL, WEST GERMANY DESCRIBED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Feb 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ilie Tanasache: "Far From Home, Living the Drama of Being Uprooted—Comments on Letters Addressed to the Authorities by Citizens Who Regret That They Have Left the Country and Who Ask To Be Readmitted"]

[Excerpts] "I am a victim of lies professed by self-seeking people"—is how the author of these pathetic lines, who left the country a few years ago, introduces himself. After describing the life of "Calvary and the Apocalypse" in an Austrian camp, after telling how all his dreams and hopes had been shattered in America—"the land of opportunity"—and how he returned to Austria to be "nearer home," the author concludes: "I am sending this letter as a lesson to those who might allow themselves to be taken in by lies. And I am also sending it because such words are never read over the microphones of [Radio] 'Free Europe.'"

It is obvious why such truths do not reach these microphones. The functionaries there are paid for this. And the outrageous demagoguery about human rights? That too. And the incitement to emigration? That is included in the deal. And is the falsifier of the truth to blame because the imaginary Eldorado promised resembles reality as much as a minnow resembles a giraffe. Unemployment? The statistics on the 10 Common Market countries are eloquent: more than 10 million unemployed at the beginning of 1982. That is, more than 9 percent of the entire population fit for work.

Under these circumstances, restrictive measures which limit the obtaining of the emigres' right to establish residence, to work and to get political asylum, measures initiated by a number of states, should be no surprise. For these reasons, for example, in the Federal Republic of Germany, schools for teaching the German language to emigres have been closed. And, also, in order to discourage emigres, they are not allowed to work until they have been in the country for a year. Also, the newcomer arrives in a world which is not at all disposed to welcome him with...bread and salt. The open hostility is expressed by a current of xenophobic opinion, by rejection, scorn and repudiation of foreigners.

We learn this from a letter by Mircea Adrian Pop, a physician, who went to West Germany in 1976, because of marriage. Here is what he writes to the



Romanian authorities in his letter requesting approval for returning to the country after 6 years of residence on foreign soil: "My main reason for returning is a very serious one although it may seem 'sentimental': Homesickness. I feel completely foreign and isolated. I cannot integrate myself intellectually in a way of life which is completely 'new' for me. I regret that I have left my country and I regret that I have left my elderly parents, whose only son I am and who need my support."

The strategy of such conduct—in fact, the policy—in regard to emigres, a strategy characterized by discrimination, scorn and isolation, often open, is also common in other countries. In France, for example, during the past year, the right to political refugee status for persons coming from some countries, including Romania, has been greatly restricted. In March 1981, the French authorities gave orders to the "Office for Refugees and Expatriates" of the Foreign Ministry not to grant political asylum except in very special cases.

How do these emigres live and integrate into the customs, places and life of the country? For the majority of them there can be no talk of integration. For example, Eng. Gh. Antoniu Dobre, specialist in aeronautics, former assistant in the Bucharest Polytechnical Institute, emigrated to France legally. For years, his efforts to work in his specialty received categorical refusals. He had to settle for a lesser job. Anghel Grigore, a former actor in the Bucharest National Theater, plays "the role" of an unskilled worker in a medicine factory and the former music professor Eugen Fodor makes his living by working in an automobile garage.

Does the emigre find the much desired "paradise," the land with "rivers of milk and honey" in Austria, the United States, Canada or anywhere else? Dreams. The table of the rich is protected by severe and restrictive administrative measures. In these countries, the formalities for admittance—if the emigre has this chance—last about a year. During this time, the applicants live in camps, in indescribable promiscuity and poverty. Many families break up. The reason? The husband cannot find work and the wife has no other choice than to engage in degrading work, including prostitution. Such situations are frequent in Austria and Italy where the local papers write about them.

"My name is Aurelian Hafner," we read in a letter to the Romanian authorities. "After being influenced by persons from the West, who filled my head with lies and by [Radio] 'Free Europe,' I decided to file a request to emigrate to West Germany, with my wife Elena. I left Romania on 10 August 1980. Now I am in West Germany. I am living with my family in a camp; I do not have the right to work or to go to school; I live off social assistance. From time to time I work nights unloading trucks, for the 'black market.' I regret the mistake which I have made. We do not have what we need here. We want to work and to live in the country in which we were born and be buried alongside our parents and ancestors."

Here is what Rica Ricovici, a resident of Lod, Israel, wrote: "I am an engineer, a graduate of the faculty of light industry, specializing in the technology of knits and clothing. Here, many factories are closing because of a

lack of raw materials and lack of markets for sales and the ones which are still in operation are small enterprises which do not need cadres with advanced technical training. This means that my 5 years of university studies have been wasted. In order to support myself, I have to work in a lower position, in other specialties or receive social assistance. The policy of the integration and assimilation of intellectuals is one of the big lies in this country where discrimination is practiced."

The feelings of insecurity of these seduced, deceived people must be terrible; they are faced with a crude reality which is completely different from the pictures on the advertising brochures. The brutal impact of an existence which they did not want causes the greatest damage: the destruction of their self-confidence. It decimates the belief that one can resist in the bitter competition for survival in a world in which "man is fighting against man." A world which promotes--especially for the emigre--the discrimination, humiliation, and poverty of the camp, which violates human dignity, and civil, political, and socioeconomic rights. The newcomer in such a climate of insecurity and of adherence to a completely different and hostile way of life can, in the best of situations, be tolerated. But, he will always remain a foreigner to the strangers among whom he has gone to live, a leaf battling all the winds. Thus, homesickness increases to an extraordinary extent and the only way out of the daily nightmare is the hope of returning to the homeland.

We learn from another letter just how consuming this homesickness for the native land is and what it means to Romanians. The author is Marian Dogaru, born in 1939 in Bucharest, one of those people who, unwillingly, entered into the ranks of "the disinherited by fate," who has been living on foreign soil for almost 3 years: "I can no longer bear my homesickness for the country, the Romanian language and my family. I have met doctors, athletes, architects, and lawyers who suffer from homesickness even though some of them have a good material situation. Everything is difficult away from your country. A few resist, many go mad and others commit suicide. My heart aches when I think of the fact that I have a 13-year old child at home whom I have raised and educated beautifully. Seeing life here, I would never want my son to come to this world. I would have been able to bring my family here but not my country. I met a Romanian language teacher who cleans the stairs of doctors' residences. I am sorry and I ask the forgiveness of the country and of my family for the shame I have caused."

And here is a letter from Austria addressed to SCINTEIA:

"Dear Sirs,

"My name is Johann Weiskopf. I was born in Romania and I have been living in Austria since 1979. Before that, I spent 3 years in West Germany where I emigrated like other Saxons believing what was said about happy life abroad.

"I am writing to you in connection with an article about emigre workers in West Germany which I read in SCINTEIA on 17 January and then in DER SPIEGEL and I would like to say from the very beginning that everything which was

written in the article is absolutely true even if there are some who do not recognize or deny that this is the real situation.

"You acted well in publishing the article but it would have been much better if you had written about the situation of thousands of Saxons and Swabians who emigrated from Romania to West Germany and who, despite the fact that they do not lead such a wretched life as Turks or other foreigners who are working there, are not any happier. The truth is that in West Germany it is less important whether you are a Turk or Asian, an African or a Saxon than whether you put up with the arrogance with which you are treated and all the insults which you hear under the most varied circumstances because all are considered to be 'Auslander' who have come to profit from the labor and prosperity of the German who was born and raised there. For Saxons and Swabians, the situation is more painful because we feel that we have emigrated there as Germans and we believed that we would be accepted as such, but we, too, have been discriminated against and we cannot become integrated in society there or in any other German-speaking country.

"Therefore, allow me to suggest that you treat in your newspaper similar aspects referring to the real situation of Saxons and Swabians emigrating to West Germany and that you give food for thought to those who will be emigrating and prevent them from taking a step which they will regret all their lives.

"In the hope that the suggestion will be received with the understanding desired, I remain, yours truly,

Johann Weiskopf"

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## CONFERENCE DISCUSSES INTERETHNIC, REGIONAL PROBLEMS

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by Stane Pucko comprising an account of a conference on the socioeconomic aspects of relations among the nationalities in Yugoslavia held 26-27 January 1982 in Maribor: "Party Members Must Advocate the Interests of the Community"]

[Text] On Thursday a round-table discussion continued and concluded the 2-day scholarly conference in Maribor on the socioeconomic aspects of interethnic relations in Yugoslavia. It was confirmed that debating relations among the republics and provinces means talking about all the vital issues of self-managing associated labor, about the long-range lines of development of Yugoslavia as a whole and of its separate parts, about the urgencies of current economic policy, and so on, without in so doing bypassing the achievements and experiences of our community's experiences to date, nor a dialogue with critics of the self-management system as a whole.

The inseparability of the nationality question and of relations among the nationalities from the other dimensions of the socioeconomic development of our self-managing society implies that the contradictions which arise within economic, social and cultural development, as the fruit of objective historic circumstances, also have their direct reflection within relations among the nationalities, Makiša Ponderac said in his statement. Our socialist self-managing community is characterized by an uneven internal economic development of the nationalities, the republics and provinces, which is above all a consequence of the historic legacy and of the uneven formation of bourgeois society, but is also a consequence of conditions in building socialist relations within the Yugoslav community of equal nationalities and ethnic minorities.

If a man is free in production relations, then the basic prerequisite has also been met for him to be free in other social relations, and accordingly in the sphere of interethnic relations as well. But if social reproduction is statist-bureaucratically and technocratically based and guided, if, that is, it is separate from those who actually carry it on, interethnic relations undergo deformation and fall into crisis. Cases are not rare when particular interests take on forms of interethnic confrontation and pseudoethnic interest.



If the individual enjoys full freedom and his human self-confirmation, then that is enjoyed by all others and by the nationality as a whole. We must work all this out, Pozderac said, in associated labor, that is, through unceasing development of the relations of socialist self-management in society. Only a self-managing worker can create and manage within the framework of our entire society as well, regardless of republic, provincial and ethnic boundaries. The market is not being closed off by the working class, but by the political technocracy and bureaucracy. The fight against nationalism should be waged in the economic sphere by strengthening self-management.

Miroslav Rebernik observed that the processes of integration need to be intensified and the principles of pooling labor and capital within republics and provinces and still more between them needs to be affirmed in general. At present there is so to speak no pooling over republic boundaries, and where it does exist, where interrepublic investments have occurred, they are usually based on purchase-sale and credit relations, which offers an outline picture of the fragmentation of the Yugoslav economy and of its autarkic nature. According to Rebernik, there is no single cause of this. The causes lie in the low capacity for capital formation and reproduction of organizations of associated labor, the administrative approach in the price area, so that organizations which have a privileged position shut themselves off or confine themselves to the local framework, and they also lie in current economic policy, which does not sufficiently acknowledge the mutual income-sharing dependence that does exist, in the vulgarization of income and of income-sharing relations, and in legal regulation, which still gives greater protection to the purchase-sale contract than to the self-management accord, and so on.

#### Dangerous Regionalisms

In an analysis of regionalism and autarky as a specific form of economic nationalism Josip Dezeljic cautioned that unwholesome regionalism is usually manifested in autarkic attitudes, that is, in confinement within OUR [organization of associated labor], opstina, regional, provincial and republic boundaries, as well as in the national economy's insufficient inclusion in the international division of labor. The principle of optimum internal division of labor, specialization and appropriate linkage between production and sales was not instituted even at the time when a large number of OUR's [basic organization of associated labor] were set up. The relations between OUR's within many work organizations are rather loose. Relations between them are usually based on conventional purchase-sale relations, and to a lesser extent on the relations of joint revenues based on the pooling of labor and capital. The principle of solidarity and reciprocity is poorly developed as yet. Basic organizations as a rule shut themselves off when things are going well and open up and appeal to solidarity and reciprocity when business is not going well. Or confinement results in expansion of differing models of equipment for the same purpose. For instance, it is difficult to find a country with so many different types and models of computers, telecommunication equipment and other pieces of electronic equipment as ours.

Dezeljin feels that joint goals and interests will have to become part of the consciousness and will of the workers and the working people if this situation

is to be overcome. Social consciousness includes the ability, at least of the organized political forces, to recognize in theory and practice everything that is opposed to the Yugoslav socialist community.

#### A Real Social Community

According to Dr Dusan Bilandzic, Yugoslav society has been testing various systems for over 60 years, and within them relations between the nationalities have inevitably emerged as Yugoslavia's lasting characteristic as a multinational community. The basic goal of interethnic relations is to create a real social community of Yugoslavia on the basis of the identity and capability for prosperity of all its components through which community comes about. However, Bilandzic also cautioned that after adopting the Law on Associated Labor, by virtue of a number of circumstances that came about, we have made it possible for centers of political administration to continue functioning as though the new concept did not exist, or we have been unable to prevent this. This means that the bodies of leadership of the sociopolitical communities, the communes, the region, and the republic have inclined toward a model in which centers of political administration acted as a kind of general directorate of their economy. Nor have we succeeded in obtaining the prerequisite responsibility of government administration for everything that occurs within its jurisdiction, and we have likewise failed to create space for a force that would neutralize irregularities.

#### Government Elites of the Nationalities

In spite of proclamations to the effect that the state is withering away, Veljko Cvijeticanin said, we note that government interventionism is very strong. The strengthening of paragovernmental bodies and agencies is especially disturbing. The government elites of the nationalities are more and more making a fetish of territory as an element of their own statehood. The closing off and establishment of their geographic jurisdiction is also bringing about the first conflicts between elites. The withering away of the state does not depend solely on changes in the overall class structure, but on the economic conditions of class existence and especially on changes in the social division of labor.

The role of the League of Communists is becoming increasingly decisive to the development of self-management. The League of Communists is a component of the respective nationality, but it dare not give way to federalization, that is, fragmentation. Perhaps the idea that party members should advocate the interests of the community in their various ethnic communities is more acute today than ever before. Nor can the League of Communists stand aloof from the government, but it should have a critical, Marxist attitude toward its own ethnic statehood as a necessary element of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Cvijeticanin feels that this ought to be the principal topic area of upcoming congresses.

## How the Market Should Be Organized

According to Dr Stipe Suvar, present-day Yugoslav experience indisputably demonstrates that the basis of the nationality in the development of our society can no longer be either the government or the market, especially not the kind of market that we have historically inherited and found in place and the kind that still exists. Our social atmosphere is heavily overloaded with the alarms of those who appeal for a return to the market as a remedy for certain problems in interethnic relations, while others are appealing once again for centralization of the surplus value of labor in the hands of a central state and at the same time cry out against the republic governments, as though there really were a great deal of difference here. The central state is only a bit larger, but that does not mean that it is also more efficient in its guidance of the development of the productive forces.

Suvar said about the problems of our market that it is not a question of the existence or nonexistence of the market, of its being operative or inoperative, but of how to organize it so that it would lead toward creation of associated labor of free producers. It is not a question of the rehabilitation or liquidation of the market, but of organizing both the market and production and of linking them together. We now have certain solutions as a beginning toward regulating the disordered market, which are the programs work organizations are adopting and the transactions they are concluding, involving an exchange of labor which is no longer a mere division of surplus labor.

Suvar also pointed up difficulties with prices, since they are not being set according to the logic of the capitalist market, since it does not exist. Nor is it possible to have government setting of prices, since that presupposes a state-ownership monopoly, which also does not exist. If we had one element of capitalist society, for example, fierce competition, then our organizations would not be able to raise prices the way they do. The trouble is that the work organization, which still by and large behaves like an enterprise, though the name has changed, is not allowed to go under. What we need, then, is a pricing pattern and a pattern or agreement in distribution of the overall surplus value of society's labor that will guarantee expanded reproduction and yet not be based on the capital relation or state-ownership monopoly.

## A Single Yugoslav Strategy

Cveta Mlakar and Dusan Pirc participated in the discussion on Wednesday, the first day of the conference.

Cveta Mlakar spoke about the approach to shaping the development strategies of the republics and provinces and emphasized that respect must be paid in this to the integral and unified space of Yugoslavia as a whole. The dominant factor in our development must be larger investments in heavy industry, which necessitate a large amount of resources. Not all the republics have a sufficient raw materials base for development of such an industry. Yet that does not relieve such a republic of concern for development of that industry.

The various development scenarios which have up to now been prepared in the various republics do not honor that fact, and they are therefore unacceptable. Mlakar emphasized that the various development strategies should be organically knitted together to form a single Yugoslav strategy, that optimum division of labor should be built up and fair economic relations shaped between the various parts of the country. The independence of the nationalities does not entitle it to indifference and isolation. There is the necessity to build up a system for concluding agreements, and every republic and province must have real opportunities [to monitor] the movement of the resources which it appropriates for general development, to verify how they are being spent, since otherwise the resources will quickly be alienated from the workers and will be bureaucratized. Associated labor must be the principle in interethnic economic relations.

### Conceptions of the Economy of the Nationality

Dusan Pirc ascertained by comparing certain aspects that if it is meant by the economy of the nationality that the republics and provinces have the sovereign right (which does not imply absolute right) to make decisions on their own surplus labor, concerning their own development and the overall development of the Yugoslav economy, then the economy of the nationality so conceived is the foundation of ethnic equality and of Yugoslav community. Nor can this run counter to the "unified Yugoslav market" as defined in the constitution. However, if the economy of the nationality implies exclusiveness, autarky, absolutisation of the particular interest and the like (which we encounter in practice), then it is more than clear that that kind of conception not only runs contrary to the unified Yugoslav market, but also the authentic interest of the nationality. Every demand to curb the optimum role of the market and of economic laws is actually a demand for revival of statism. Under our present conditions that demand is essentially reactionary, since the state or certain other governmental institutions necessarily emerge as intermediaries between the producers and the consumers.

The point of origin of the centrifugal tendencies in our economy should not be sought in the divided nature of our country into economies of the nationalities, but mostly in the lack of comprehension of economic sovereignty. Which is not to call into question that sovereignty as such, but at the same time emphasis is not put on any absolute sovereignty of the nationality, which is occurring more and more frequently in practice. This has caused and is now causing a further exacerbation of mutual economic relations, a closing off of the economies of the nationalities, and regionalization of the country not on the basis of any economic logic, but a political logic, a strengthening of efforts to formulate those polarizations in certain rounded-out ideologies decked out in the language of socialist self-management.

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YUGOSLAV PRESS INTERVIEWS ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT KAUNDA

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 12 Feb 82 p 3

[Interview with Kenneth Kaunda, president of Zambia, by Mirko Sagolj, OSLOBODJENJE deputy editor in chief, and Efraim Kurtagic, OSLOBODJENJE foreign policy editor, in Lusaka on 6 February 1982: "We Are Fighting for a New Economic Order Which Would Be Fair for All Human Beings"]

[Text] "The idea of the nonaligned movement was born in the thoughts of the greatest minds which the world has ever had. Unfortunately, they are no longer with us, not one of them, but what they founded is growing steadily and becoming stronger not only in the sense of the number of countries and of governments representing them, but also with respect to the moral impact on international affairs," Kenneth Kaunda, president of Zambia, said in part during an interview in his residence in Lusaka with Mirko Sagolj, deputy editor in chief, and Efraim Kurtagic, foreign policy editor, both of OSLOBODJENJE, responding to our newspaper's request for him to speak in connection with commemoration of the 20th anniversary of nonalignment and the preparations for the Seventh Summit Meeting of the Nonaligned Countries about the current issues of the present-day world, the role of nonalignment, the new international economic order, movements and hotbeds of crisis in Africa, relations between Zambia and Yugoslavia, and to express once again his memories of President Tito and his assessment of his personality and career.

OSLOBODJENJE: Twenty years have passed since the holding of the First Conference of Nonaligned Countries in Belgrade. Over that period the movement has always been concerned with the most vital issues of international relations. What actions of the nonaligned and which of their successes would you single out as the most important question?

President Kaunda: When we speak about what has happened in the nonaligned movement over the past 20 years we should first of all put to ourselves the question: Why was the nonaligned movement established?

First of all, the idea of the nonaligned movement was born in the thoughts of the greatest minds which the world has ever had. Unfortunately, they are no longer with us, not a one of them, but what they founded has been growing steadily and becoming stronger not only in the sense of the number of countries and of governments representing them, but also with regard to moral impact on world affairs. Nonalignment was created so as to respond to particular international conditions. It did not arise as a bloc, but was created in order to moderate the tension of that time. East and West laid a burden on the very delicate balance in international relations by virtue of their rivalry. In that situation the sponsors of nonalignment met in Belgrade and thereafter became a powerful and influential force in world affairs. Since that time, and I note this with satisfaction, there has been no turning back.

The nonaligned movement has confronted many problems, as indeed has every other world organization. It was in fact created in order to respond to the challenges of its time.

#### The Rivalry of the Blocs

OSLOBODJENJE: Today's relations in the world are characterized by a further tightening of tension between the blocs, the arms race is being stepped up, and hotbeds of crisis are not showing signs of cooling off. Where in your opinion is the place of the nonaligned movement in resolving these acute problems?

President Kaunda: We see that the principal areas of conflict are between the United States and its allies on the one hand and the USSR and its allies on the other. But thanks to the moral impact of the nonaligned movement these problems have not exploded into something that might destroy humanity. So, though we cannot see obvious results which we might touch in a literal sense, every thinking man will agree that the world would have been destroyed by nuclear weapons on several occasions if it had not been for this powerful force--non-alignment.

Nonalignment has achieved success by virtue of its moral influence, but also in other ways. Nonalignment has strengthened the independence of many countries, especially those which belong to the Third World. That is why I say that in the future nonalignment must as in the past continue to build its own force step by step and use that power to influence events in the direction we desire. And the countries of the Third World, at least the great majority of them, want peace.

OSLOBODJENJE: The nonaligned movement is making great efforts to build a new and more fair international economic order. As the distinguished statesman of a country which is also affected by economic problems, how do you look upon this portion of the activity of the nonaligned?

President Kaunda: In our philosophy of humanism--as perhaps you know, we say that we are building a socialism which leads toward humanism--we divided human aspirations or activities into five principal areas. They are political, economic, social and cultural, scientific and technological, and defense and security. I will begin with the last, defense and security. Someone might ask:

If the nonaligned countries want peace, why, then, are they building their own defenses and security forces? That is easy to answer. The world in which we live has not yet attained the ideal situation in which we might be able to disband our defensive forces. And so long as the world is as imperfect as it is, there will be a need for us to develop our defense and security, but not so that we might destroy other countries, but so that we can defend ourselves and maintain law and order within our own borders.

#### The Nonaligned and the New Economic Order

The nonaligned countries have been taking a joint position even on economic affairs in various international forums. We are seeking a new economic order which would be fair for all human beings. Whether we are religious or not, we all understand the fact that we live in one world. And we also desire to have at the international level the kind of order which we want to establish within our countries, an order that is based on equal and fair conditions. Regardless of whether we are speaking about the international or the national level, in the final analysis it is man, the individual, that we have in mind.

Consequently, the nonaligned countries have the right to exert pressure on the rich countries toward establishing a fairer economic order in this world. Incidentally, let us ask ourselves how many of those countries, those in the West, for example, which were colonial powers, amassed such wealth? By exploiting certain other peoples. That is a historical fact. We in Zambia are indeed an example of that. We were a British colony up until 17 years ago. Everything that we had here, copper, for example, everything that was raised in agriculture and so on, all of that was taken away to build the British economy at the expense of our economy. The same is the case with West Germany concerning Namibia and Tanganyika as well as with the other colonial forces. America has not had colonies, but it still has enriched itself at the expense of weaker peoples.

Thus the great powers of the West today have a moral if not a political responsibility to see that they have taken what they had no right to from our countries and in view of that to help create the economic conditions in the world which are advocated by the nonaligned countries. Much can be done by simple liberalization of the conditions of trade. That is what the nonaligned countries are seeking. We do not demand compensation for everything of ours that was exploited in the past.

I feel that the nonaligned countries should continue to exert the pressure. Perhaps we will not see the results today or tomorrow, but certainly the more we emphasize this issue, the sooner our message will reach those who are making the decisions in the most advanced countries.

#### An Appeal to Iran and Iraq

OSLOBODJENJE: We have been witnesses, especially in the recent past, of conflicts in which certain nonaligned countries have found themselves on opposing sides. What is your comment on this phenomenon, and is it possible in your opinion to build mechanisms which would prevent future conflicts between countries which are members of the nonaligned movement?

President Kaunda: Here again we must accept the truth that the nonaligned countries are guided by certain principles which have brought them together. But they are guided at the same time by ordinary human beings. That is, they are compelled to live in conflicts like any other group of states on the earth today. And so long as we have what we call in humanism "the animal in man," we will be confronted by conflicts, even between nonaligned countries.

In opening the session of the Zambian Parliament I said that we appeal to Iran and Iraq, two fraternal countries within the nonaligned movement, to accept various attempts by intermediaries, including an appeal of the nonaligned, to sit down at the negotiating table and to settle the war not on the battlefield, but at the conference table. It is a sad thing for nonaligned countries to make war with one another, but we must accept this as a fact.

As for creating a mechanism to prevent conflicts, I am optimistic in believing that we can achieve this though I have no specific proposal. I hope that we can create conditions which will make it less likely for countries within our movement to engage in a war.

The founders of the nonaligned movement could not have foreseen problems of this kind. But now that they have arisen, it is our task to find ways and means of preventing the occurrence of a similar situation in the future.

#### The West and South Africa

OSLOBODJENJE: The last bastion of colonialism, the Republic of South Africa, where racism is set down in law, is an immediate neighbor of your country. How in your opinion can this problem be resolved most effectively and speedily in the interest of obtaining the rights of the peoples there and of achieving peace in the south of the African continent?

President Kaunda: South Africa, like many other countries, can also be viewed through the prism of the five areas of human activity I spoke about earlier. If we want South Africa to change from an apartheid regime into the one you are speaking of, then there are only two ways: one is change by peaceful means, and the other a change by means of a war for liberation.

If we desire a peaceful change or a change that is as peaceful as possible, we need to examine those who have an impact on South Africa in the areas of those five human activities. We do not have influence, you do not have influence in any of those areas. The only ones who can have influence on South Africa in this respect are the western countries. We know that only Sweden has passed a law against investment in South Africa and against any sort of political operations in that country. But Swedish influence is very small. Those who represent something in this respect are the United States, Great Britain, West Germany, France and to a lesser extent Italy. Japan has recently also begun to play a significant role.

If these countries decided to act against South Africa, as they are now acting against Poland, we might expect certain changes. But unfortunately they will not do anything like that, and that is what is disturbing. What sort of



standards prevail in this world? The Polish issue arose during the last year or two. But the problem of South Africa has been with us for a long time. The West reacted very quickly over the issue of Poland. I am not saying whether that is right or wrong, but I only mention that this has happened, while nothing has been done on the question of South Africa.

Investments are continuing to flow into South Africa. Political support is still present, since when resolutions emerge against Pretoria in the United Nations, one of the superpowers in the Security Council uses its right of veto. And what can we do in this situation? All we can do is to give support, as I said in the parliament, we must continue to extend support to SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] in Namibia and ANC [African National Congress] in South Africa toward the goal of achieving independence of Namibia and bringing about a change in the social and political order in South Africa.

I must say that the West has fallen to a low moral and political level over the issue of South Africa. They have nothing to say except to support the oppressive regime of Pretoria. In the end the people of South Africa, the people of Namibia, have no other choice but to rise up and fight for its independence. Just as you fought under the leadership of my dear friend Tito, just as we did under the leadership of the UNIP [expansion unknown], just as SWAPO in Namibia and the ANC in South Africa are doing now.

OSLOBODJENJE: What might be the consequences of that kind of development of the situation in South Africa?

President Kaunda: That is a disturbing factor. You see, the West is passing judgment on itself. Why such a different attitude toward Poland and South Africa? Is it because white people live in Poland? And South Africa is black? Where are those Christian principles to which the West frequently appeals? Finally, I am afraid that the explosion which will occur in South Africa will have no equals in history. This will be a race war in which every white person will be seen as an enemy. There will not be time to pick out the good ones from the one who is bad, to make a selection of victims. It will be a war between the whites and the blacks. Thus many honest people will suffer. I am emphasizing the essence of the issue. This is a very tragic and sad situation. And we can "thank" the West for that.

#### Emancipation of Africa

OSLOBODJENJE: It is well known that the present borders in Africa were in many cases created by the former colonial powers. The Organization of African Unity has proclaimed as one of its basic principles, in the interest of peace, that those borders cannot be changed without consent of all interested factors. Will the OAU [Organization of African Unity] have enough influence and strength to have that principle honored?

President Kaunda: In my opinion the Organization of African Unity has achieved significant results in certain key areas, while in others it has not. Politically the OAU has continued to oppose those who would like to colonize others. In that respect a great deal has been done. We have not been as quick as we

hoped in creating a joint "umbrella"--a federal government.... A fact that must also be understood is that for centuries Africa was colonized by the western countries, and in that time we were disunited. They taught us to believe that we could not achieve anything ourselves. Proclamation of national states has become too powerful a force for us to think about renouncing sovereignty in the interest of larger political units.

We are having difficulties in the economic sense. After all, for example, if I want to travel from Lusaka to the Cameroons, I must go to London or Paris (before I arrive in the Cameroons), or vice versa. We are still too much tied to the colonial mother countries. But we will overcome that, though we should have done it before now. Recently we have set up several African organizations in various economic sectors. Economic communities are being set up in several regions.

As for social and cultural affairs, we have begun to discover ourselves. We are now creating institutions which will help us in that. But in the sense of unity it is still true that not enough has been done to integrate the various cultures of the continent. And this is guided by political determination and the desire for us to come together. We have not done much in the way of cooperation in the field of science and technology.

The questions of defense and security are crucial to protection of the continent against aggression from outside. This also involves the support to liberation movements. Here again we are individualistic as nations and we have not done all that we might have. But allow me to say that here again I look on history over a period of 20 years. And what are two decades in the life of a people? Very little--a drop in the ocean. It is important that we take a positive view of Africa and that the threads of constructive trends be taken up and then developed. I think that African leaders are now doing this.

#### The Situation in Chad

OSLOBODJENJE: How do you look upon the joint action of the Organization of African Unity in Chad, which is the first concrete step toward a concerted resolution of a complicated situation?

President Kaunda: I am not certain that we can hope that we will halt the war between two countries using the machinery of the OAU. We can prevent war in Africa between Africans only with the help of moral pressure. We must continue to appeal to the conscience and morality of individual nations while at the same time setting up mechanisms.

Let us take the question of Chad, which you just mentioned. Personally I must publicly acknowledge that I do not see, just as President Goukouni Weddeye has said, how the OAU mission will stop that war. I did not understand the point of our decision on that issue. As we now hear, the rebel leaders are taking city after city, settlement after settlement. And our forces stand with crossed arms. Consequently, I can understand why the president of Chad says that unless African forces fight against the enemy, they should leave the country. The way it is there now, it seems to me, our forces have blockaded him.

He cannot get help from outside. In my opinion what is needed now is to allow President Goukouni Weddeye to receive aid from wherever he wishes. When the rebels have been crushed and accept the terms of a cease fire, it is then time to think about peacekeeping forces. I think that this is a sad development of the situation. But these again are Africa's birth pains.

#### Zambian-Yugoslav Cooperation

OSLOBODJENJE: Zambian-Yugoslav relations are characterized by sincerity, a high degree of agreement in assessments of the most important world events. This does not mean, however, that they might not be still better. What do you consider most important in relations to date and in what areas might they be improved, which would be in the mutual interest and in the interest of nonalignment as a whole?

President Kaunda: I can continue an analysis of our relations by examining cooperation between our two countries through the prism of the five areas of human activity. What are our political relations, how is economic cooperation developing, what kind of cooperation is there in the field of social and cultural affairs, what are we doing in the field of science and technology, and how are we cooperating on matters of defense and security? Fortunately, our cooperation has been complete in all these areas. What is needed now, we are in fact doing: we have set up commissions which examine cooperation in the various sectors from time to time. Perhaps here and there there are certain postponements and slowness. But that is not because of a lack of goodwill, but because of pressures, of other obligations we have here in Zambia. The wars for the liberation of Africa are not yet over. As I have said, we are supporting SWAPO, and it has had bases in our country since the very beginning of the war. Now their main headquarters is in Angola, but they still have bases here. We are supporting the ANC, which is fighting in South Africa. Then we are striving to build relations once again between the members of the SADC [expansion unknown], the PTA [expansion unknown] and others. We also have many problems concerning the country's security because of the pressure of South Africa and its allies. All of this takes time which we would devote to the important matters of cooperation with our partners and comrades in Yugoslavia.

But we have a good framework for cooperation, and that is the most important thing. We will in fact continue to build in the future. I agree that much of that could be improved, but we are handicapped both by a lack of specialized manpower and by other things. The goodwill exists. And the political disposition is there as well. We must make our relations more effective insofar as we are able.

#### Concerning Tito

[OSLOBODJENJE]: You had several occasions to meet with President Tito. Would you please give us some of your personal impressions from those meetings, conversations and joint efforts? Yugoslavs will always remember the way in which you expressed your feelings when you came to Belgrade to the funeral and the last farewell to President Tito. It was very touching, something unforgettable.

[President Kaunda]: It is difficult, almost impossible, to speak about that in an interview like this. Tito was a man whose life and career will be written about in the centuries to come. Consequently, I am perhaps doing an injustice in responding to that question. Tito is a man toward whom I feel great love, a man whom I respect and revere, a man whom I hold in awe. We accorded him the highest honors when he visited our country. We awarded him our highest honors and decorations. We did this because that is the way we think about him.

Tito is not a man about whom I could speak in the past tense. I speak about him in the present continuous tense, since he and his deeds live on. It is difficult to define that. Tito's greatest virtue was something that might be described as his love for people, and only a man who has loved humanity like that could achieve what he achieved in his life, which is living on in his deeds and will live a long time, even after we are gone. Thanks to that love toward humanity which was expressed in his deeds, he was able to liberate Yugoslavia from oppression and exploitation. His great idea of nonalignment was also born out of his love for humanity. Such conceptions are not born by accident, they come only from the head of a great mind. The idea of opposing a superpower like the Soviet Union and of going his own way could also have come only from a great mind. The idea of making peace with the Soviet Union could also have come only from a great mind. His determination to work until his death for his people and humanity could come from the strength of his intellectual greatness.

We cannot forget him. I wrote to him when I was to submit in Havana the resolution of gratitude for his contribution to the nonaligned movement. Unfortunately, I had to leave earlier. The conference in Havana took longer than expected, and I had matters of state business scheduled. And we agreed that President Ahmed Sekou Toure would submit the resolution on everyone's behalf. I apologized to President Tito. As head of state I wrote to him that I am his pupil and admirer. That shows the depth of my feelings.

I repeat, one can rarely see such a person, once in a thousand years. Tito was a man of the people in more ways than one. We speak of a popular figure. He was beyond that. He was a leader of leaders. He was something exceptional for humanity. In my modest opinion his life was as successful as it was because of his love for people, for Zambians, for Yugoslavs, for Russians, for Americans, for Indians, for Chinese....

That is my conception of him.

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## YUGOSLAV PAPER INTERVIEWS CYPRIOT PARLIAMENTARIAN

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Feb 82 p 8

[Interview with Alexis Talanos, chairman of the foreign policy committee of the Cypriot Parliament, by Vitomir Krstanovic, in Yugoslavia: "The Question of Cyprus Is an Obstacle to Lasting Peace in the Mediterranean"; date not specified]

[Text] "Very soon the government of Cyprus intends to raise once again in the United Nations the question of the territorial division of Cyprus and the problem of occupation of a portion of Cyprus by Turkish military forces. We intend to ascertain not only whether the existing resolutions of the world organization will be confirmed, but also whether steps will be taken this time to convince the Turkish side to undertake negotiations which would have prospects of resulting in a fair solution to the problem of Cyprus."

This statement was made in an interview with BORBA by Alexis Talanos, chairman of the foreign policy committee of the Cypriot Parliament, who paid a recent visit to this country on invitation of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia with a delegation of the Democratic Party of Cyprus (DIKO). Talanos is at the same time the chairman of the commission for international relations of his party.

#### A Single Policy

"We are raising this issue once again because the problem of Cyprus, together with the other hotbeds in this part of the world, is a volcano threatening new conflicts and an obstacle to lasting peace in this area. We want the whole world to understand the danger that is threatened by failure to resolve this issue."

As is well known, Turkish military forces occupied a part of the territory of Cyprus in July 1974. These forces hold about 40 percent of the area of the Republic of Cyprus, they have about 35,000 men and have made it possible for about 50,000 Turkish settlers to take up residence. The invasion created many problems on Cyprus: about 6,000 dead and 2,000 missing and nearly 200,000 refugees from the area captured by the invader's forces. This act was qualified by the United Nations as a violation of basic international rights, a violation of territorial integrity, human rights and intervention in the internal affairs of the sovereign state of Cyprus.

"We are afraid that the Turks did not act alone when they invaded Cyprus and that the intention was not only to destroy the sovereignty of the republic, but also to do away with our country's nonaligned status. This did not occur, since Cyprus is recognized by all countries of the world; it is an active member of the world community, and in spite of the Turkish occupation all countries recognize the sovereignty of the legitimate Cypriot Government over the entire territory of the island," Alexis Talanos said.

The chairman of the foreign policy committee of the Cypriot Parliament said that Cyprus has been severely affected by these events, but that the policy of non-alignment is regarded in Cyprus as the only policy that is suitable to small proud countries and that therefore they will never abandon the basic principles of nonalignment.

Speaking about the current international political situation, Talanos specifically mentioned the present Cold War atmosphere which the world has entered once again, a war in which the two superpowers are competing.

"In that context there has been an obvious growth of pressure on the nonaligned countries, especially those which have an important geostrategic position. That is why belonging to the nonaligned movement is becoming increasingly difficult for certain countries. Nevertheless, in spite of those pressures, I believe that the principles of nonalignment will remain inviolate in our movement," Talanos emphasized. "We, of course, need more cooperation, more active participation and more agreement, since nonalignment is today the only alternative to war. If the movement weakens, there would be a greater danger of conflict. It is our duty, then, not only to preserve the movement, but at the seventh summit meeting in Bagdad to do everything to strengthen its basic principles, our initiatives, our cooperation and everything that contributes to the unity of all members of the movement."

#### Advancement of Cooperation

Talanos spoke specifically about weak points in the nonaligned movement, some of which are very topical, such as conflicts and even open outbreaks of war between countries which accept the principles of nonalignment.

"In spite of all that," he said, "it is our judgment that the movement is becoming stronger every year. There are many evidences of this, especially the numerous resolutions in the United Nations, like the recent one about the Golan Heights. Whenever the principles of nonalignment are at issue, the nonaligned rally closer together in spite of all the differences. It should not be forgotten that the movement is larger today than ever, that more than two-thirds of humanity have joined it and that within it there must be and there must develop more differences in views concerning the national position and conditions for future development. But there is reason for optimism in the fact that the basic principles of nonalignment are in essence becoming firmer and firmer and adopted ever more widely."

The high-level official of the Democratic Party of Cyprus had words of praise for the cooperation between Yugoslavia and his country during recent years, to which his current visit is expected to contribute as well.

the same time we have been neglecting the strengthening of our economic and cultural contacts. We must increase trade, advance tourist exchange, achieve the participation of Yugoslav firms in the building of Cyprus--in competition with others, of course. Aside from the need to strengthen relations between the Democratic Party of Cyprus and the SAWPY, our visit also had the purpose of specific agreements concerning future cooperation not only bilaterally, but also on the international political scene--such as in the Interparliamentary Union, the North-South negotiations, the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and elsewhere. In that sense cooperation between our two governments and political organizations can contribute not only to one segment of international relations, but indeed to improvement of the general political climate in this part of the world," Alexis Talanos said in conclusion.

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## JOZE SMOLE URGES MORE OPEN, INFORMATIVE PRESS

Belgrade NASA STANPA in Serbo-Croatian Dec 81 p 4

[Speech by Jozse Smole: "Restricting News Reporting an Attack on Self-Managing Society"]

[Text] As we announced in our last issue, we are publishing, with some slight condensations, the introductory speech by Jozse Smole at the Study Days, which have been organized for four years now by the Slovenian Society of Journalists and the Socialist Alliance of this republic, as a form of sociopolitical education and in memory of Mitja Gorjup. We note that the speech was not [officially] authorized.

I regret that Comrade Culafic, the secretary of the LCY Central Committee Politburo, was unable to keep his promise to speak here about the current problems in public news reporting in Yugoslavia. Why do I regret this? Most of all because I think that someone from the federal leadership should have been here to hear the views of the journalists on the most acute problems in news reporting, because such a dialogue would certainly be very significant in eliminating various barriers, obstacles, and difficulties that exist in the area of public news reporting. This does not mean that there are not numerous problems that affect news reporting in Slovenia, but likewise the fact is that there are still certain problems outside the Slovenia in the area of reporting events in the whole of Yugoslavia, as has been demonstrated in the case of Kosovo, and for this reason we urgently need some sort of dialogue through which an attempt could be made to clear up certain matters. I received the additional task of delivering the introductory speech here. I tried not to accept it, because I think that there are probably no differences of opinion among us in regard to the principle of news reporting itself, and it seems stupid to us for us to bicker about this. After I finally accepted this obligation, however, I had very little time and I really was not able to prepare any sort of profound analysis or introduction. Allow me, then, to throw out just a few thoughts to encourage a critical discussion among us.

As a Nonaligned Country, We Should Show Superiority in the Breadth of Our Reporting

In our self-managing socialist society, there should probably not be any ambiguity over our right and duty to keep our citizens thoroughly informed about overall events in Yugoslavia and abroad. Precisely because we are a nonaligned country,



we should, in my opinion, be able to inform our public even more comprehensively, thoroughly, and objectively than is possible for the press, radio, and television in nations belonging to military-political alliances -- blocs. I am not thinking just about the Eastern bloc here, but about the Western bloc, the NATO alliance, as well. As a nonaligned country, we nevertheless have an independent position and the power to make an independent assessment, and from this standpoint we should show superiority in the breadth of our reporting on world events, in comparison with other systems. At the same time, of course, we must immediately acknowledge that we have not yet reached that point.

#### **We Do Not Need Selection of the News**

Precisely because we are a self-managing socialist society in which the citizen is a decision-maker, it is quite clear that there should be exceptional breadth in the freedom of reporting on all events in Yugoslavia, because if a citizen is not informed about everything that happens in Yugoslavia, he will naturally be unable to make a decision. From these introductory comments, I would like to draw the conclusion that any restriction on news reporting in Yugoslavia is directly opposed to the socialist self-managing system, and opposed to the policy of nonalignment. In my opinion, every restriction on news reporting is an attack on socialist self-managing society, an attack on what was written in the Constitution, and naturally an attack on socialist self-managing society, an attack on what was written in the Constitution, and naturally an attack on the policy and positions of the LCY. I am thoroughly aware when I say this that many people in our country do not think so, but although they accept it theoretically, when it comes to the concrete treatment of individual events, they introduce some other elements, and thus actually arrive at a concept of restricting news reporting. In my opinion, the thesis that we need a sort of news selection, a sort of selective approach in reporting events, is unacceptable from the standpoint of our socialist self-managing system. In my opinion, we need objective, true, and accurate information about everything that happens, and at the same time we naturally also need an active and critical commentary on events, a commentary that consistently defends the interests of socialist self-managing society, that defends our system, that defends nonalignment, that defends fraternity and unity, and our Yugoslav community; in short, one that defends the basic postulates of our society. In my opinion, we should not make a selection of whether it is good or not for the news about some event or some fact to be published, even from the standpoint of some sort of self-censorship. In every society and in life in general, there are both positive and negative events. If we make a selection and ask ourselves in advance whether the publication of this or that event will have positive or negative consequences, then we of course come to the destruction of the principle of objective and true news reporting. It was precisely because of the so-called selective approach that we experienced a complete debacle in the Yugoslav news system at the time of the events in Kosovo. Then, in certain organizations-- I should add at once that these were not just the leading organizations in Kosovo-- there was a conviction that reporting the events in Kosovo would damage Yugoslavia's national interests, that it would be harmful both within Yugoslavia and in regard to Yugoslavia's reputation abroad. This was an exceptionally significant experience for us, and I think that we journalists, as well as the LCY, must resolutely oppose any attempt to impose some sort of theories about the need to select the news and decide a priori whether some event should be reported or not, because I feel that such an approach leads to the destruction of a normal news system.

In return to the events in Kosovo-- if we had been sensible then, as we were not, if we had broadcast a filmed television record of the events in Pristina and elsewhere, not only to our own public but also to the world public, we would have achieved a great deal in this way, because we would have shown our public the strength of our system, we would have shown the strength of our system and of Yugoslavia to the world, and in addition such an approach would have made it possible for us to influence interpretations of the Kosovo events in foreign news systems. Since we were not sensible and since we missed the train, it happened that the world press in any case finally reported everything that took place in Kosovo, and that the starting points in commentaries on these events were sometimes, or I could say in most cases, very damaging and bad for Yugoslavia.

#### Liberalism Is Not Free, Objective Reporting

In any case, I am not returning to the past now for the sake of the past, but rather for the sake of the future; in my opinion, what is liberalism and what is not liberalism should be cleared up. The expression "liberalism" is again being used fairly often in some forums in Yugoslavia in reference to news reporting and the press, radio, and television. In my opinion, liberalism cannot apply to the objective reporting of events and facts. I also think that when we publish news about events that are unpleasant or negative for us, we cannot condemn the person who wrote the report for falling into some sort of liberalism. A journalist has to report what happens. We have a complete right to discuss liberalism in the area of commentary, in the area of the assessment of events, and we also have an obligation to fight against liberalism in editorial policy for that purpose, as we still have to ensure the defense of the interests of our socialist self-managing society through the editorial policy in commentaries, in assessments, and we therefore cannot allow, let us say, direct or indirect attacks on our system or on the fraternity and unity of our peoples to remain unanswered. We thus can speak of certain occurrences of liberalism in the sense of an editorial policy that allows all possible articles to be published, and does not respond to those articles and similar ones that, let us say, attack Kardelj or Tito; but, I repeat, we cannot accept the thesis regarding liberalism when it is only a case of having the right to report freely and objectively everything that takes place.

#### We Do Not Have a Yugoslav Concept of Reporting

For me the problem today, as far as news is concerned, is primarily whether we report what happens in Yugoslavia and what happens in the world, especially what happens in Yugoslavia, in a thorough, capable, and well reasoned manner. I think that here we have to be critical and acknowledge that we are lagging behind in capable news reporting. Many of our reports are superficial, not thorough enough, and often one-sided, and I think that superficiality in news reporting is naturally a great weakness that we should face up to. In my opinion, even in Slovenia we have shut ourselves off in our news media into a Slovenian framework inside Slovenia's borders, and we are following Yugoslavia only through the events in forums or in the delegate assembly, the executive agencies in Belgrade, on the federation level. We do not have comprehensive and continual information about events in Yugoslavia. We do not have a real Yugoslav concept of reporting. If I may be very crude, here every Slovenian LC Central Committee meeting will receive incomparably greater weight than a meeting of the Serbian or Croatian LC Central

Committee, regardless of the subjects discussed at the meeting. This also applies to other republics. We are proceeding on the basis of a sort of narrow republican concept, not on the basis of a concept of Yugoslavia, and we are thus dividing Yugoslavia into six or eight units, as we have already established several times; this division is also reflected in the public news media, in radio, television, and the press. In my opinion, we should ensure a Yugoslav concept of news reporting in all of our news media. This applies to both the republican press and the regional press, because this press should proceed on the basis of the unity of Yugoslavia and the events in Yugoslavia, and not shut itself off into some republican, regional, or municipal framework. We have already discussed this several times, but matters have essentially not changed, and it is urgently necessary for us to establish through our common forces what the real reasons are for such an erection of barriers.

#### When the Forums Are Not Meeting There Is No News

Another serious problem in reporting is that the main reporting is still associated with the forums. When the forums meet there are many reports, and when they do not, there are no reports at all. Look at the TV Journal--if the forums are not meeting, reports are lacking altogether, as if nothing at all were happening in Yugoslavia. I think that this is our great weakness as journalists; we have not known how to cover life in Yugoslavia, the life that takes place outside of the forums and which still gives the main tone to any social event, because life after all does not take place only in the forums. We are faced with the serious task of penetrating for once into more serious reporting about life in Yugoslavia, and not trying ourselves exclusively to reporting in the forums, or even reporting about the forums.

#### Instead of Criticizing the Press Through Internal Channels, Public Explanation

There have been serious errors in the press, radio, and television. I think that what is still happening in practice in Yugoslavia is ridiculous, however; a certain political forum, such as a municipal committee, one association or another or some organization, complains through internal channels about a certain newspaper or some editorial board, and complains afterwards, let us say to the Central Committee, that the radio and television did something or other, that someone has done something or other. I think that this course is not acceptable. A forum or politician who thinks that something has been done wrong on the radio, in the press, on television, in my opinion ought to go to that editorial board or write an article, or even ask to appear on TV or radio and state his opinion there, and put matters in their place, from his point of view, if he wants to. I think that today we are such a democratic and highly developed society that we should seek to resolve disagreements that occur in such a way. I repeat that for me it is unacceptable to work through some internal channels and then tell stories or criticize that or that journal, instead of having a given political worker or forum make use of the media available to it, i.e., the public news media, as would be normal from the standpoint of ensuring publicity and the public treatment of a problem. If a given editorial board shuts itself off and does not allow others to speak, then it deserves the greatest condemnation and the Association of Journalists should speak out. It is clear, however, that we cannot allow monopolization of the public news media, or allow workers in those media to have the last word on all matters and let what the journalist wrote stand without any other opinion



being heard. As far as I can see such tendencies exist among some journalists; the journalist gets very upset when a view differing from his is published, so that sensitivity and a tendency to hold onto a monopoly are also encountered among some journalists. I think that this is harmful to the journalist profession and to a resolution of the problem.

#### Officials Are Not Yet Aware of the Significance of the Press, Radio, and Television

A large number of the sociopolitical workers who are not journalists—all journalists are sociopolitical workers—do not yet perceive the entire significance of the press, radio, and television; I am thinking here of sociopolitical workers in the leading agencies, sociopolitical organizations, etc. I should say, in fact, that in Yugoslavia we have an absurd situation in which certain editorial boards have to ask certain officials to give an interview or to appear in the press, on radio, or on TV. If the officials were aware of the significance of the public news media, then the opposite situation would be the case; there would be a great rush of all the officials to appear on TV, radio, and in the press in order to present their positions. Let us hope that a normal climate for democratic development will continue to develop in this regard, that the attitude of the communications media will change, and that officials will become aware that one can still have a crucial effect on the attitude of the public through these media. There are still some comrades in Yugoslavia who feel that it is more important to speak in closed meetings or in meetings in a municipal area, than for these things to be said to the broader public. In any case there is a great obligation for the public news media to be really open to everyone and for us not to allow any sort of monopolistic position for the workers in public news media.

The problem of reporting in crisis situations, among other things, has been emphasized in the theses for this introduction. I think that in crisis situations we should not reduce the volume of reportings; rather, in a certain sense we should even increase it.

As far as responsibility is concerned, I think that we should allow the various errors to be resolved in passing, that we have to give the news media the right to make mistakes; because when one is working in public, it is reasonable that there may be mistakes and errors. At the same time, one must ensure that every editorial board will correct a mistake or error in an appropriate manner, naturally. It is likewise very important to clear things up from the very beginning when making comments and assessments; when unacceptable positions appear we should clear them up, and not drag them out until the problems accumulate, and only then resolve them later on.

#### We Have Not Ensured a Politically Informative Strategy Against Psychological Warfare

The theses mention preventing an intrusion by hostile reports and so-called psychological warfare. I can assert that we are not keeping track of this at all seriously, and that we are not, on any level, ensuring a politically informative strategy to respond to the various hostile psychological pressures that are being used against us. We likewise do not have any definite position, and we instead fall into extremes; we do not respond at all to many hostile theses that part of the foreign propaganda is spreading against Yugoslavia, and then afterwards we become unnerved to such an extent that we generalize and attack the entire



Western or Eastern press, and so forth. We do not have a subtle policy worked out for responding to various types of disinformation originating abroad, or to so-called psychological warfare. I think that this matter is very significant, and that we should prepare ourselves in a more substantive manner in regard to this and secure our positions. In all of this, direct hostile commentaries directed against us or direct psychological pressures exerted against us are the least dangerous; the concealed pressures, to which we should respond in a subtle manner, are much more dangerous.

#### News Should Be Separated From Commentaries

Finally, I would like to mention in addition just the fact that from time to time a bad practice occurs among us of mixing news reporting with commentaries; by doing this, of course, we neither inform nor provide a commentary. The classic example of this was the TANJUG agency's announcement about the congress of the Albanian Labor Party. Probably TANJUG was not the only one responsible for this; probably certain others influenced TANJUG.

I must say that in doing this we are showing a certain nervousness and immaturity. We know how to report normally about everything else, so that we say what happened first of all and then afterwards we make comments. We are not able to report normally about neighboring Albania. I must say that again this is not an accidental mistake, because we, or at least we in Slovenia, warned the TANJUG editorial board several times that this was not being done correctly, because we had the same kind of reporting from Kosovo, where later on everything was mixed up so that you did not know what happened at all, or what was in fact a commentary and assessment. This is, of course, the crudest example, which I feel deserves every condemnation, because this method of reporting is counterproductive in our society. Our people have a right to know exactly what Enver Hoxha said. Therefore we must first of all give a report on what Enver Hoxha said, and only afterwards provide a commentary--our commentary, our position. We naturally should have a position. I have to say that at least recently there has not been a case of our reporting in that way about any [other] event taking place abroad. Usually we first report what happened, and then commented afterwards.

This means that the Yugoslav public still does not know, even today, what really happened at that congress, because the whole business was a mixture of commentary and a sort of quasi-reporting. I am deliberately stressing this example because I think that in our journalism and in our news media we have to separate clearly, once and for all, what is news from what is commentary. Only in this way can we ensure thorough, true, and objective reporting, and on the basis of such thorough reporting be able to comment actively on these events, and on the basis of these active positions, the positions of socialist self-management, defend our system and resolutely resist the attempts of those who are trying to diminish or attack our system.

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MEETING OF NONALIGNED ON COOPERATION IN RADIO, TV

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 82 p 11

[Text] The nonaligned countries have expressed determination to intensify their mutual cooperation in the field of information exchange. The committee for cooperation of radiobroadcasting organizations of the nonaligned countries, which began meeting in Belgrade yesterday, has called for further linkage of information and communications systems to the processes of development of the developing countries and for establishment of a new international information order, to which the nonaligned countries are contributing both by virtue of the pool of news agencies and through cooperation of radio and television organizations. Cooperation in the field of radiobroadcasting took on organized forms after the first assembly held in 1977 in Sarajevo, and has progressed since the second meeting of the assembly of the conference, which was held in 1979 in Freetown.

The committee's chairman, Joseph Findley, who was elected at the assembly in Sierra Leone, spoke about the road which the radiobroadcasting organizations of the nonaligned countries traveled from Sarajevo to Freetown. That road was marked by an upward line of mutual cooperation and activity, but at the same time it reflected weaknesses and difficulties encountered by the nonaligned movement.

Findley mentioned political problems which have sorely affected certain members of the movement, nor, he said, were problems of a social nature any the less important.

7045

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## PARTY MEMBERSHIP COMPOSITION, STRENGTH DISCUSSED

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 5 Feb 82 p 12

[Article by Milivoje Tomasevic]

[Text] The largest influx into the League of Communists was in 1948, 216,000, and then 1980, 199,446, and then in 1977, when it was 193,759 members.

The largest falloff in membership was in 1970, when 91,851 members were expelled, dropped from the rolls or resigned. There was a large drop in membership between 1953 and 1958, when the LCY lost 148,114 members, and the largest number of expulsions in the recent past was in 1972, when it was 12,941 members.

In the "taking of the inventory" of the League of Communists in advance of the congress, particular attention is being paid to analyzing the situation and relations within the organization itself. Discussions concerning enrollment, membership composition and differentiation in the LC [League of Communists] show that ideological issues are extremely important. That the vanguard role of the LC depends in large measure on them. The large membership (if enrollment continues at the present rate, the LC would increase from its present 2.2 million to nearly 4 million members toward the end of the decade), the insufficient participation of workers (29.4 percent of the total number), along with frequently unsuitable enrollment and insufficient differentiation, might, unless something changes, bring the League of Communists to the point of a mixed bag of ideologies.

The strength of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the first stage of its development was far out of proportion to its membership. On the eve of the Second (Vukovar) Congress the CPY, for example, had 65,000 members, but in the elections for the Constitutional Assembly it had third place in the number of votes and deputies (after the Serbian Radical Party and the Croatian Peasant Party). Speaking about the influence and strength of the Zagreb party organization Tito said in lectures delivered in Kunrovec: "At the time when the Eighth Zagreb Conference was held we (in Zagreb) had 134 members of the party ... at that time we were able to bring out tens of thousands of people in Zagreb to protests and demonstrations." The situation was similar at the beginning of the revolution. The Communist Party entered the war with 12,000 members (and 30,000 members of SKOJ [Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia]), yet

it motivated, led and created hundreds of thousands of fighters for socialism and a new Yugoslavia.

#### The LC Is "Going White Collar" Faster Than Society

This ratio (between the size of the membership and the LC's power as a driving force) has, however, changed today. There are 2.2 members, but the League of Communists is by no means satisfied with its effectiveness and capability for action. Accomplishment of what has been resolved and agreed on is actually--as has been stated at many meetings and conferences--the weakest point of party work.

The problem does not, of course, lie in the large membership. There are several reasons why the LC is not effective enough. One of the main ones is that a large number of members motivated by personal interests have found their way into its ranks. This "registering" and subsequent "passive existence" or indeed resistance to the policy of the LC goes back, then, to unsuitable enrollment at the outset.

Actually there are two important shortcomings here: enrollment is often ceremonial and wholesale (for people in nonproduction occupations and secondary and university students), while on the other hand a large number of primary organizations of the League of Communists take a sectarian attitude toward workers and farmers, especially toward those with low qualifications, toward working women and toward peasants.

There are cases, for example, when several dozen students in their last year at the university or all the members of a class in secondary school are enrolled in a single meeting of a primary organization. At the same time, there are villages where not a single person has been enrolled in the LC for years and there are workplaces where almost all the members of the office force are members of the LC, but the proportion of semiskilled and unskilled workers is negligible. That is why the League of Communists is going "white collar" far faster than society. For a number of years blue-collar workers made up the bulk of the membership and of the leadership of the CPY, but today there is only one worker in all the presidiums of the central and provincial committees of the LC.

#### Age-Specific Composition of the Membership of the LC

	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>
Total	1,049,184	2,026,520
Under age 27	218,967	673,800
28-40	433,956	723,410
41-55	331,080	485,910
56 or older	65,181	143,390



## Differentiation Only in Crisis Situations

But while the doors for entry into the LC are wide open for some, a sectarian attitude is sometimes taken toward others, and often exit (expulsion) from the LC does not occur even when it is absolutely called for. Differentiation in the LC actually takes place only when crises and conflict situations break out, as, for example, in 1948, 1953, 1968, 1972, and 1981, but even then not throughout the entire League of Communists. And we find members of the LCY even in illegal hostile organizations, not to mention those who openly advocate either a centralistic system or on the other hand who do everything to separate as much as possible one OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] from another, one opstina from another, one republic or province from another. They do this quite openly and so successfully that one might get the impression that this is actually the policy of the LCY.

It is not difficult to draw the lessons from the facts we have enumerated concerning enrollment and differentiation. Along with the well-known requirement--that it is not enough for enrollment in the LC for someone to write down that he favors socialism, self-management, the policy of nonalignment and so on, but through his work in the bodies of self-management, the delegate system and the SAWP he must prove himself as a fighter for the program and policy of the LC, and that differentiation in the League of Communists must be conducted constantly and systematically--certain new proposals also deserve attention.

## How To Activate the "Lulled" Potential

It has been proposed in the LCY Commission for the Bylaws and Organizational Affairs that enrollment in the LC should be based on a nomination by a member of the LC and that these proceedings should be conducted in open meetings of the primary organization so that others (those who are not members of the LC) might also present their opinions concerning the candidates. There are those who think that the doors should also be opened wide to egress from the League of Communists, so that those who have "wandered" into this organization or who have found their way here for careerist or similar reasons might turn in their party cards without any sort of "proceedings" under the bylaws.

It makes no difference what approach is taken to differentiation in the LC; it is clear that the first thing that must be done is to overcome opportunism toward members who are in their behavior sully the image of the member of the League of Communists. It is clear that one of the principal conditions for the LC to remain the vanguard of the working class and the leading ideological force in society is for it to "abolish" false democracy and for authentic democracy to make further inroads in the ranks of the LC.

Until a firm stand is taken to the effect that its foundations (unity, democratic centralism, discipline, etc.) are untouchable, until respect for the criteria governing enrollment and continued membership in the LCY is achieved, that is, until those criteria are related to work and proven commitment, the League of Communists cannot expect to increase its effectiveness and capacity for action. This is the condition for the huge potential of the League of Communists--which cannot be manifested because various irregularities are tolerated and there is a certain ideological motley--to become that driving force which will clear the way to progress still more successfully.

## NUMBER OF WORKERS, OTHERS IN LCY, 1970-1980

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 5 Feb 82 p 13

[Article by Slavko Filipi: "Workers in Largest Numbers, But Not Enough"]

[Text] The working class is the vehicle of socialist revolution and therefore it is indispensable, as Comrade Tito frequently emphasized, for there to be a majority of workers--direct producers--in the ranks of its vanguard, in the League of Communists. This strategic ideological-political commitment has a certain significance and weight for still more resolute class orientation of the ideological-political action of the League of Communists toward the goal of the workers themselves deciding on the conditions and results of their work, toward the workers having that role and influence which helps them to master the total surplus value of labor, and thereby the flows in social reproduction, as rapidly and completely as possible.

In mid-1981 there were more than 620,000 workers in the League of Communists, which is 29.4 percent of the total membership. They are today the most numerous social group in the League of Communists. Their enrollment and the steady growth of the number of workers in the League of Communists have been more pronounced since the 10th LCY Congress, since adoption of the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, in the years of the lively and more inspired ideological and political action of the League of Communists and the other organized socialist forces, in the years when long-range prospects have been opened up for the development of our society on the foundations of socialist self-management. The largest enrollment since 1948 was recorded in 1980, that extremely difficult year of President Tito's illness and death. By their numerous enrollment in the ranks of the League of Communists workers, and also young people and others, declared their loyalty and devotion to the person and deeds of Comrade Tito and to the LCY Program and policy, their readiness and determination to fight and to endure on Tito's revolutionary road. That policy is also an expression of their personal aspirations and ideological-political commitments.

#### Sectarian Attitude Concerning Enrollment

Nevertheless, workers have maintained that same proportion in the composition of the League of Communists for 10 years now with slight fluctuations. In large part this is a consequence of the wholesale enrollment of people of other

occupations, especially secondary and university students, as well as the large-scale movement of workers into other occupations. But the principal reason certainly does not lie there, nor in the disposition nor desire of workers to become members of the League of Communists. It is still probably a case of a sectarian attitude on the part of individual primary organizations and indeed broader than that, toward workers, especially those with quite low qualifications, women workers in particular. Thus--and this is the case in quite a few opstinas, even in the advanced industrial centers with a strong and numerous working class--workers do not constitute a majority in the League of Communists.

#### Workers in the Organs of the LC

In presidiums of central committees and the provincial committees of the League of Communists	1 worker
In the LCY Central Committee	9.8 percent
In the central and provincial committees of the LC (average)	26.8 percent
In opstina conferences of the LC (average)	30.9 percent
In opstina committees of the LC (average)	30.5 percent
Among presidents of opstina conferences (average)	10.3 percent
Among secretaries of opstina committees (average)	16.8 percent

#### Change of the Membership of the LC, 1970/1980

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enrolled</u>	<u>Expelled</u>	<u>Removed From Rolls</u>	<u>Resigned From LC</u>
1970					
Total	1,049,184	31,885	10,178	20,680	15,224
Workers	310,555	9,210	5,502	8,584	7,410
Other employed persons	411,663	6,304	2,282	5,867	3,917
Private farmers	68,425	2,800	1,207	1,636	1,292
Secondary and university students	54,428	10,563	185	1,838	173
Yugoslav People's Army and others	204,113	3,008	1,002	3,755	2,432
Women	201,946	7,540	1,123	4,172	3,066
1980					
Total	2,026,521	199,185	3,686	8,995	2,574
Workers	600,722	58,918	1,752	3,262	1,111
Other employed persons	840,582	48,827	1,145	1,651	654
Private farmers	87,109	8,319	310	575	102
Secondary and university students	201,034	62,084	73	1,924	138
Yugoslav People's Army and others	297,074	21,037	406	1,583	569
Women	521,823	65,928	401	2,518	712

There are even figures to persuade us of the accuracy of these observations. Almost one-fourth of all the persons employed in the socialized sector are in the League of Communists (24.7 percent). Workers make up more than 62 percent of all persons employed in associated labor, but less than 17 percent of them are members of the League of Communists. Or again, only 8.5 percent of all women workers are members of the League of Communists. The unfavorable composition of the membership of the League of Communists in certain large work organizations is also manifested in the fact that a majority of the membership is concentrated in the office force, and in some places not even 5 percent of all the workers in production OOUR's [basic organization of associated labor] are members of the League of Communists.

Stricter criteria are often applied in the enrollment of workers, stricter requirements are imposed which cannot be met by the worker with low qualifications and income, the worker who has not solved the basic problems of his life. It is also these workers who are expelled more easily from membership in the League of Communists.

#### Outdated Method of Classification

In some places the level of education is taken as an important condition for enrollment in the League of Communists. Workers with low skills (semiskilled and unskilled) make up only about 8.5 percent of the members of the League of Communists, while highly skilled and skilled workers comprise 29 percent. Certainly the social status of workers also has a certain influence on their inclusion in the League of Communists. The manner in which the national income has been distributed up to now has objectively made it possible for professional management structures to exert a stronger social influence, and indeed they are in relative terms considerably more numerous in the League of Communists.... In some places it is even emphasized that the level of the dues has an adverse effect on enrollment of workers, especially those with low skills and personal incomes.

It is also worth mentioning that the method of classifying members of the LC in the keeping of records and statistics in the LCY is outdated, inappropriate and narrow and does not reflect the real state of the social and class composition of the membership of the League of Communists. With the development of the productive forces and the necessary broader connotation of the term "workers--direct producers" in the present-day technological process of production, which certainly also includes engineers and technicians and other specialists who participate directly in production and whose personal income depends on the results of work in the OOUR, the number of workers--direct producers who are members of the League of Communists will increase considerably. This issue is being thoroughly discussed in advance of the conferences and congresses of the League of Communists in all the republics and provinces and in the organization of the LCY in the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army]. However, this does not detract from the seriousness and weight of the observations, since the share of workers in membership of the LCY over the last 10 years has not been changing in the unchanged classification that exists.



Without closing the door of the League of Communists to all those who are involved in the struggle for socialist self-management and who fulfill the criteria that have been set forth, the emphasis in the ideological-political activity in advance of the congresses and conferences ought to be put primarily on enrollment of a larger number of workers--direct producers, and that especially in those industrial centers. Appropriate preparations should also be made for the enrollment and it should be related to specific socioeconomic and political activity in each community. In short, greater selectivity and consistency in the application of criteria are necessary in the policy concerning enrollment of new members. There is good reason to pay more attention in this activity to enrollment of workers with low skills, young people who are training for production occupations, that is, those--as Comrade Kardelj said on one occasion--who expect the most from the future.

7045

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ESSAY ON MONTENEGRIN PREHISTORY STIRS CONTENTION

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1620, 17 Jan 82  
pp 22-26

[Article by Teodor Andjelic]

[Text] Dr Spiro Kulisic's little book "On the Ethnogenesis of the Montenegrins" has provoked a major debate. While some praise the book without ceasing, others deny that it has any scientific foundation.

A small article by ethnologist Spiro Kulisic, published as a nicely, even luxuriously turned out book, has caused a serious scholarly and also political debate.

In various reviews, all published in Montenegro, the book "On the Ethnogenesis of the Montenegrins" has most often been praised lavishly. At the same time, other reviews, which were also written by Montenegrins, were so critical that one could come to think not even the first sentence was worthwhile.

In the first sentence the author asserts: "Our old bourgeois scholarship generally held the view that the Montenegrins were Serbs; this view was particularly typical for Serbian historiography, ethnology and anthropogeography."

Six Months Later

Using scholarly rigor, the book seeks to prove that, as a nation and people, the Montenegrins stem from the Dukljans, and "the Dukljans have been shown to be a separate ethnic entity, clearly distinct from the Croats and the Serbs."

Citing Byzantine and other sources (which historians of other persuasions would generally reject), Kulisic asserts that most Montenegrins represent "a mixture of Dinaric and prehistoric representatives of the Borreby type, with a powerful body, large head and broad face."

Next, the author asserts that the "ethnic ties with the prehistoric Balkan inhabitants of the land that is now Montenegro directly point to complex similarities in the life and culture of the Montenegrins and of some peoples of the Caucasus."

Dr Branislav Durdev, writing in PRAKSA, the journal of the Marxist Center of the Montenegro LCY Central Committee, said the following:

"It is awkward for me to talk about Spiro Kulisic's book since he is not present, but I must say that he came to the conclusion that the Montenegrins are Morlaks, but Morlaks are not found only in Montenegro. By this he did not prove the uniqueness of the Montenegrins."

The debate was organized on 19 June 1981, and reporters were among the participants, but they were asked to write about the discussions only after receiving authorized texts. They are now in front of us, 6 months after the debate at the Center and more than a year after the book was published.

Nearly all the discussions of the debate were published in the latest issue of PRAKSA.

In the introduction, Nenad Bucin, director of the Center, said, "The Marxist Center does not in the least want to subordinate our conversation on this topic to any practical political need. To be more precise, this is no more an official promotion of the book than it is a condemnation of it."

This position is immediately obvious, considering the delicacy of the theme. Nevertheless, as soon as it was published, contradictory positions clearly crystallized concerning the book.

One of those positions was presented at the Marxist Center debate by Dr Dragoje Zivkovic. He said that Kulisic's analysis was in good part based on well-known scientific facts, "but from his new, modern point of view, he spoke persuasively about the unique Montenegrin ethnicity that had emerged on the basis of symbiosis and assimilation of the Dukljan Slavs and the ancient Illyrian Romans, and certain other possible ethnic groups, which were found in the territory of the Dukljans."

Kulisic did not execute any sort of scholarly revolution. Rather, although he is not a historian, he put the facts together in a logical fashion. That is the opinion of Dr Radoslav Rotkovic, who refers about other things to Muzaffer Korkuti and the miscellany ILIRIA IV (Tirana, 1976).

#### The Reviewer's Word

Dr Rotkovic, a literary critic, believes that the downfall of the bourgeois order in Yugoslavia did not also mean the downfall of bourgeois scholarship here. Thus, he says, the old thesis of that type of scholarship has been answered with a formula of compromise. He cites the example of the MALA ENCIKLOPEDIJA PROSVETA (The Small Encyclopedia of the Prosveta Publishing House):

The Montenegrins are one of the Yugoslav peoples; they are of Serbian origin and speak the Serbo-Croatian language. In the course of their modern history, the Montenegrins have had a special historical, political, and socioeconomic development and have developed characteristics of a special national individuality and a unique people.

Dr Rotkovic adds that this is from the second edition of the encyclopedia of "1969, and he almost wrote 1869, on p 893." He concluded his presentation with the following words: "If all of this had followed its natural course, the present discussion would be unnecessary, for it would be clear that the Montenegrins did not develop from the Serbs. Rather, they came from a group of Slavic tribes who migrated to Prevalis from the territory that is today East Germany. Since those tribes formed a state early in history, they also began to create a particular Dukljan tradition, which not only inspired but also shaped the Dukljan-Zeta-Raska clashes over power. Why this is so, and whether it would be better if it were not so,--these are funny questions, if all nations are regarded as equal and equally worthy, which they are. If, however, we are disappointed with the Montenegrin origins of the Montenegrins, that means that the Montenegrins are a mass of lower worthiness. On the other hand, the euphoria about higher worthiness leads to racism. To a Dinaric race, to an Aryan race. *"Dixi et salvi animam meam."*

Together with Dr Branko Pavicevic, Dr Slobodan Tomovic reviewed Kulisic's book, which was published by the Pobjeda Publishing House of Titograd, in 1980.

In the debate, Dr Tomovic offered a paper based completely on principle. He called first of all for "positions based on Marxist classics on national questions, including Tito and Kardelj. He said:

"Personally, I think that ethnogenesis is not really essential for proving national identity. We know that the Montenegrins have their sociohistorical, culturohistorical and political identity, independent of ethnogenesis. It is not, however, proper to limit scholarly research to that which appeals to us, or does not please us, naturally, to the extent that it does not serve anti-constitutional excesses."

The subject of scholarship can be everything that is of interest for the consciousness and cultural level of a people, and that can include ethnogenesis. The clear polarization of viewpoints that was heard at this meeting was, in Dr Tomovic's opinion, a proof of its inspiration: "As one of the reviewers of this study, I recommended it for publication for the reason above."

The opposite, critical position regarding Kulisic's book was held by a number of historians who participated in the debate at the Marxist Center. Academician Branišev Durdev said, word for word:

"In our Yugoslav community, the Montenegrins are a separate people, a separate Yugoslav nation. In the Yugoslav community, Montenegro has its own special interests that coincide with those of the Yugoslav community, its peoples and nationalities. No one involved in serious scholarship would deny that. It is also clear that that Montenegrin uniqueness did not originate yesterday, it has its deeper historical root, and was not created forcibly by the communists, as some socially limited people here assert. Yet it is not necessary to reshape history in order to explain Montenegrin uniqueness scientifically. It is particularly tasteless and poor to refer to Marxism in doing such a task."



Dr Dimo Vujovic feels that the work of comrade Kulisic does not deserve the attention it is receiving, but the reactions to his work are worth attention.

Dr Vujovic asserts: "The Montenegrins have always felt like and expressed themselves to be part of the Serbian ethnic group.

Dr Ratislav Petrovic centered his presentation, entitled "Voluntarism and Arbitrariness," on the thesis: "The book 'On the Ethnogenesis of the Montenegrins' is an arbitrary walk through history. It is a good example of historiography that wants things that are impossible, that wants to prove ethnogenesis at any cost." To demonstrate his thesis, he cites article 92 of Prince Danilo's ZAKONIK (Law Code):

"And if in this country there is no other nationality but Serbian and no other faith than eastern Orthodoxy, yet every man of another nationality and another faith can live freely and enjoy our domestic liberty like every Montenegrin and "Brdjanin" (highlander), who lives here and enjoys it."

#### Censored Njegos

In fact, Dr Petrovic was one of those who showed the manner in which Spiro Kulisic made use of historical documents. In their opinion, that manner is not just unscholarly; it amounts to falsification.

On the same topic, several other participants in the debate at the Marxist Center spoke in a similar manner. Dr Mirko Barjaktarovic said:

"By language (and particularly on the basis of diction), which is often taken as one of the leading and indicative ethnic features and determinants, and on the basis of popular beliefs and general views on life and the world, as well as their self-image and self-expression, the Montenegrins are fundamentally Serbs. It is inaccurate, unscholarly, and even ridiculous to avoid saying this. But they are Serbs who, because of certain exaggerated historical and particularly geographic, economic and other circumstances and conditions, assimilated from without and also created themselves a certain regional quality and distinction. In most recent times, those circumstances have developed in such a way that today the Montenegrins not only can, but want to demonstrate their particular identity. It is their right, earned in struggle, and our Yugoslav democratic and human resolution to enable and permit everyone to affirm his identity as he wishes and feels he should. Thus as an ethnologist, I can assert that the inhabitants of Montenegro are ethnically and historically Serbs, but that now in a legal, political and national sense, they are Montenegrin. The facts can be studied, but they cannot be passed over in silence, and even less can they be changed, for we cannot after all change the past."

Dr Dragoljub Petrovic considers that Montenegro must pay attention to its own cultural heritage. Yet in fixing their boundaries, the Montenegrins dare not lose sight of many sensitive details of cultural and political history. Dr Petrovic said: "In the opposite case, every other scholarly discipline will risk finding itself in the same position as we recently saw blossoming in Kosovo. That 'scholarship,' which its creators declare to be Marxist, includes for example assertions that the ancient relics of Byzantine culture are Alban-

ian, that the entire onomastic material of the Decani monastery is again Albanian, that there never was a Serbian migration, and that there was never any other people living in Kosovo but the Albanians. Following that analogy, can we say that there never was a Serbian people living in the boundaries of today's Montenegro, and are the onomastic remains found around Montenegro, which are identical to those at Decani, Albanian, Montenegrin or Serbian? Should we add to that the farce of judging Njegos, Ljubisa and Marko Miljanov before the constitutional court, or the assertion that the lexeme kokot places the Miroslav Gospel among monuments of Montenegrin cultural history, or the assertion that the beginnings of that culture can be traced to some bishop's bones from the ninth century, or the assertion that the fabulous treasures of Mount Athos belong exclusively to the Greek cultural heritage, or the assertion that Porfirogenet and Njegos 'were not thinking historically' when they mentioned Serbs. All of these things would prove beyond a doubt only one thing, that no discipline, regardless of its nature, could survive the amount of shame that linguistic and historical investigations in Montenegro have endured in the last 10-15 years. Kulisic's book, which brought us together for this discussion, has also foundered on that reef."

The present writer has already expressed his opinion on the book, but at this time I can add that it is a much greater failure than a bad book can deserve. It has not provided a single serious fact that would illuminate the problem of Montenegrin ethnogenesis. This assertion has been demonstrated by all the reviews that have appeared of the book, both the positive and the negative ones.

The debate on the history of Montenegro is taking place on Montenegrin soil.

Dr Milija Stanisic makes the comment above, and continues that the cultural climate in Montenegro is not good if Montenegrin scholars cannot publish their viewpoints in Montenegrin publications, but rather must publish them in Belgrade, Novi Sad or elsewhere.

The appearance of Kulisic's book surprised Dr Branko Kovacevic:

"I am simply amazed as to where individuals get the boldness, even if they have learned titles, to write openly in praise of that edition, without any qualifications for a scholarly analysis of its assertions. What is more, for some this book offers an occasion to proffer some other notions about much later events, which can also be criticized with no less justification. I am surprised how they can do this, and how it can be here in Yugoslavia that such obviously idealistic viewpoints (not only in the case of presentations on moral categories of Montenegrins) can cover their statements numerous times with references to the dialectic and historical materialism, and Marxist teaching about the world and life in general.

Dr Novak Raznatovic also spoke of conscious silence or distortion of historical fact. He entitled his presentation "Tendentious Manipulation of the Sources." It concluded with the following words:

"It is well known that, beginning with the end of the 18th century, the liberation struggle of the Montenegrins and the Brdjanins (highlanders) intensified.

That battle was waged under the banner of their own, Serbian national idea, concerning which there are numerous written documents. When today that evidence is consciously ignored, with obvious intentions to exclude the Serbian component from Montenegrin history, that in our opinion directly hampers work on a scientific Marxist estimation of the origins of the modern Montenegrin nation."

Probably the saddest fact coming out of this debate relates to Njgos. The author of "The Mountain Wreath" considered himself to be a Serb. Yet where he explicitly says that in his poetry, he has now been censored in some of the latest editions of his works. Those places have simply been erased!

### Strategic Definitions

There are several instances in Europe where two nations have been made from one. Consider the Austrians and the Germans. Dr Milija Stanisic says that Kulisic's book subscribes to the idea that "naturally ethnic uniqueness is decisive for the formation of the Montenegrin nation. However, the modern theory of the nation does not absolutize the role of the ethnic determinant in the formation of national individuality. It points to many examples of European lands (such as the Scandinavians and Germans) and of African lands today where certain peoples, subsequent to special historical and cultural development, have formed separate nations. (There is nothing unusual in that. Dr Mirko Barjaktarovic presented the following example: "The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina are ethnically and by origin Serbs and Croats, yet today they are a separate people.")

Dr Stanisic concluded his presentation with the following words:

"From the beginning, the Montenegrin communists have been conscious that the borders between national affirmation and nationalism are contiguous. Therefore, in strategic definitions and in daily battle, they held firmly to the principle that, first, national ideas always form an alliance with class goals, and second, one must struggle with equal vigilance against Montenegrin separatism and against Great Serbian centralism. Dedicated to internationalism, they resolutely supported the strengthening of Yugoslav community cohesion. These definitions and positions have successfully been put into practice. That needs to be our permanent guide."

The president of the Montenegrin republic presidium, Veljko Milatovic, thinks that at least part of this discussion has at least a part of "that traditional Montenegrin mentality (perhaps that is why we are Montenegrins) on a tribal basis, not to say pig-headedness. By that I do not want by any means to bring doubt about the need for the most critical examination of the theses and assertions made by Kulisic and others. Rather, we must do so on a scholarly level and with scholarly argumentation. The discussion must be conducted in scholarly institutions and publications, and the themes of discussion should not be politicized, forced into discussion through the daily press, so that every scholarly or semischolarly theme becomes a matter of ideology."



Next to speak was Vukasin Micunovic. Flattered by the invitation to join the debate with such a group of scholars, he had read Kulisic's book and drawn his opinion. He said:

"If it had not been for the invitation, honestly, I would not have read the book. I hope this will not be interpreted as my attitude toward the authors, but rather, as an indication of how limited my interest for the ancient origin of the Montenegrins is."

"Perhaps as a practical politician I have neglected the importance of ethnogenesis. I must say that I am an adherent of the thesis of comrade Bakario, which he stated once when speaking of the brotherhood of the Yugoslav peoples. In my free interpretation, he said that we were not united by our Slavic heritage, but by our revolution's goals."

The current division among historians and other scholars concerning ethnogenesis calls for debates, public addresses, and dialogue, in the view of Vukasin Micunovic.

At least at the ends of their presentations, most participants in this debate reminded their audience that it is "politically wise to stress those common features, things that are worthwhile, that unite us, and not to emphasize those things in which we differ in details, which separate us from one another. In general, the basic outlines of ethnogenesis of not only the Yugoslav peoples, but of the Balkan peoples as well, offer more to connect and join us than to separate us.

That was the conclusion of Dr Mirko Barjaktarovic.

#### Factors of Closeness

Milija Komatina looks upon this entire story from a similar perspective. He asks: "Why was it necessary to make such a commotion about a single book? Certainly, neither the book nor its author are in question. If it were a matter of giving a work the attention it deserves, then we would all be obliged to make our contribution. Here, however, the desire is to defend something that is more important than anyone and than any book, to defend a nation! And since that is the topic, then all means seem justified,—including the idea of preventing a dialogue about this book.

The conviction of Montenegrins that they are of the same or of common origins with the Serbs is a fact that we all know, with the help of scholarship and without its help. Now the question is how we should react to that fact.

"First, I would say that it seems to me that neither good nor evil can be seen in that fact by itself. The Montenegrin nation neither gains nor loses because of it.

"Yet if we talk about international relations and about factors that bring our people together, then the conviction that our two peoples are close and related, along with their common origin, can be taken only as another desirable circumstance."



Milija Komatina's presentation was the last authorized text in the journal PRAKSA. Among its last words were these:

"We are not building national socialism, but a society based on socialist self-management. The measure of development for that society is found in the measure of its opportunities for overall, free development of each individual and each nation, and of the community as a whole. But if we are Marxists, and if our own experience teaches us anything, we must realize that social freedoms do not come from national freedom as such. Rather, the exact opposite is true: the real process of freeing labor, the working class and the worker brings about the freedom of nations. Considering our society's historical determinants and its contemporary reality, that process can take place here only in the unity of republic and province, national, and total Yugoslav values. In a community so perceived, no one should be expected or asked to consider general, common interests above his own national ones, nor should he see his national interests as less than the progress of the country as a whole, rather than as the progress of his narrow republic or province national group."

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## NOVEL ON PRISON CAMP FOR 1948 PRO-STALINISTS PUBLISHED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1620, 17 Jan 82 pp 35-36

[Article by Milo Gligorijevic: "Time for TREN II"]

[Text] They had to use the largest lecture hall in the Economics Department at Nis to fit in everyone who wanted to hear a reading of new prose by Antonije Isakovic and Sveta Lukic last Thursday.

And there was little doubt that the people who came to the first public reading of excerpts from Isakovic's novel TREN II (the novel will be published in February) already knew something about its history. They knew that it had been first turned down by Belgrade's Prosveti, that it could have been published by the Paris publishing house Galimar or any number of other large publishers, but that the author chose to wait to have it published here. They also knew that the novel, which deals with Goli Island, had to have more than 20 revisions. And finally they knew that in spite of a few objections, the new version of the novel was accepted by Prosveti.

Everyone did not know that nothing essential had been changed, that the descriptions of torture remained, so it was inevitable that the author would be questioned as to how much material had actually been modified or deleted for publication.

Professor Vukasin Kostic, a poet who heads the Little Literary Club, remarked that Isakovic and Lukic must be described as being somewhat unconventional. He went on to say that they have already produced some important work, so there would appear to be little need to describe them in great detail to an audience who must already know all they need to know for the occasion.

## A Conversation Which Does Not Lead to Reconciliation

The reading began with Isakovic. The author read a passage which was a conversation between a father and his son, who is named Vrsic. The father is an old man, the patriarch of the family, and a priest. The son is a scholar, an intellectual, but now a broken man. He has returned from Goli Island.

The father asks his son to tell him whether or not he was guilty. "How?" asks the son. "You tell me." And when the father learns that his son spent time in prison as an innocent man, he pronounces the verdict. "You got what you deserved. First

of all, you betrayed me, your father." And he tells the son that he feels no pity for him even though he came home a sick and disgusting man, who had been beaten like a stray dog, who had lost his teeth and become old and unfit for a woman. He asks, "What can you do now? You might as well have stayed there, at least we would have the memory of what you were."

The audience is silent. Isakovic reads the son's defense, and the father's reply.

"We wanted to change..." The reply: "To change. They changed you from an innocent man. None of you knew what was right for your class in society. You were a part of this country. Mother Russia. Go to hell with your new 'mother'."

The son assures his father that he did not talk like that. The father then asks him why else would they have put him on the island? The son's terse response, "A mistake." And the father's sad comment to this, "I am aware of the mistakes you all made."

Meanwhile, we write down every word of the conversation. Now the father speaks: "You think that people are good. It's much easier, simpler, for a man to be evil. Just as you worked to destroy your own homeland when you should have been working to build it. Evil does not require much time or effort, any little crack will let it in. I am a priest, I have heard my share of screaming, when someone is dying, getting married, giving birth. The priest is the confidant to life. How many people have I confessed in my life, I've heard them right before they died--the things they have told me. There are good people in this world, ready to sacrifice. But not many. There are many more evil people, with their false causes. And they are the ones who win out, who say how things are to be done."

"We wanted to stop all that," the son replies. "You wanted to," says the father. "You put an end to something. You caused some blood to flow. I'm warning you, you're no example for anybody. By all indications you're just an unfortunate school-boy. That's what you've always been, in another world, it's no different here. Nothing will ever become of you. You might as well become a beggar. But you can't even do that, you have suffered for nothing. Who pulled you out of the toilet? You know, you smell like human waste."

There can be no reconciliation between father and son. And the hero of the novel walks out of his family's house, penniless, but he later finds a wad of bills in his pocket that his mother secretly put there. This is the end of the reading.

### People and Mirrors

After the reading, the audience is free to ask questions or make comments. A professor from the University of Nis says, "What you are doing is not easy, because you chose a contemporary theme. Ivo Andric would never have won the Nobel Prize if he had used contemporary themes." The professor asked whether a certain amount of time had to pass before the events which occurred on Goli Island could be described. Isakovic said that this was true for two reasons, the importance of the subject and the sensitivity of society.

"You know, one can much more readily talk about people who have no power. Tonight we have here many students and professors. Much more can be said, with much less hassle, about the former, because they have no power. It's like this in many cases,

everywhere, with power. Everyone who has power in order to serve some entity, to serve God, the working class, socialism, is very susceptible. Even the trouble-maker. Both the individual and society stand before a mirror, they need to stand before a mirror to find out about themselves. What sort of mirrors are there? Different ones. Certainly literature is one..."

Someone asks another question. The person wants to know if Isakovic thinks that books which deal with taboo themes are of greater importance than those which deal with eternal themes. Love is an eternal theme, he says, also betrayal, fear.

"Fear, for example, has always been inherent in man. Only a madman has no fear. When a man loses his fear he has lost his ability to live. That's why people will still read books which deal with fear written 500, 1,000 years ago. Taboos which are put on some of today's themes must be abolished. The veneer must be stripped off and the inaccessible made accessible. This is the way to become free."

But, says Isakovic, there will never be enough freedom. It is never completely won. Man will never be able to finish the job while he is on earth.

Isakovic is asked another question - why did he edit the first version of the book? Why did he add parts to it, and what did he add?

"Recently, I told a newspaper that my book originally had 230 pages and that it now had 280. Nothing has been toned down. Nobody tried to make me tone anything down. I was told that TREN II was lacking in historical context, that the break which took place between communist ideologies in 1948 and other events which led to Goli Island should be given more attention. I added a diary, the diary of an investigator, or I should say, a large part of the diary. And it is now much easier to see the story from the other side. This was done out of my literary and aesthetic convictions and not out of compromise."

#### A Discussion Concerning the Value of Temporal Distance

Isakovic then began to explain that a writer approaching the process of writing is powerful, and the work impotent. Then, as the work progresses, the work becomes more powerful, and the writer, in comparison, becomes weaker and less important. The book must be gone over and altered until all the writer's power has been transferred to it.

Sveta Lukic, one of the 20 or so readers of Isakovic's manuscript, said: "It's apparent that a book which has gone through the censors has a very good chance of losing its acuity in the new version. But I can assure you that this has not happened. TREN II did not lose its accuracy, nor its sharp edge."

Lukic turned his thoughts to himself. "When I was young I did not think that any sort of time interval was necessary in order to deal with certain themes. I took them on head-on without hesitation, but I soon became aware of a major problem: in the absence of historical studies, overall evaluations, and the like, literature is taken as the primary source of information about an event."

One member of the audience did not agree with Lukic. He said, "Your friend Andzej Vajda did not need this time interval to write COVEK OD GVOZDJA!"



Apparently, this curious listener would have gladly asked a question or two to Andzej Vajda through Sveta Lukic, but Lukic said that he had called the Vajda home recently with no response. It would appear that Vajda has been out of town.

For his reading, Lukic took an excerpt from a book he wrote some time ago entitled SVE ISPOCETKA. It also deals with a returnee from Goli Island, an engineer, who converses in a seemingly calm and direct manner with the supervisor of the factory from which he was taken out 5 years ago. The engineer will come to realize that younger research workers have taken his invention and improved it, made it more acceptable and much more profitable. He sees that the time lost is gone forever, and without malice he decides to go off into the country to help the young men.

#### Failure of Reactionary Forces

After the reading, the conversation continued with Isakovic taking on an optimistic tone. "I knew that there would be some problems with my book. It says much more about the Stalinistic behavior which took place in our country than about our conflict with the Soviet Union. But I was convinced that it would first appear in our country. I believed that it would really take place faster now than would have been the case in the past.

But this delay is understandable. Our society is not without blame, there are conservative and reactionary forces, disagreements and conflicts. Conservatives, reactionaries try to suppress the truth, to obliterate it. Fortunately, this cannot be done. At first the public didn't even know I had written TREN II, then they began to learn something of it, and now, 4 years later, they know everything...One day when we have all passed on, someone will explain this and instances like it, all the hesitation, all the barriers which have been put up, and those who created them."

We in the audience took this to be a message to the young that were present that they might not become the ones who put up barriers in the future.

Isakovic was asked how he wrote the book. How could he write about Goli Island when he had never been there?

"I had a few talks with some people who had been there. They were, every one of them, quite reserved; it was difficult to find out anything from them. I learned the most in a couple of conversations, each lasting 2 hours, with one man. After this I was able to capture the atmosphere of the place and come up with the situations, the characters, and the plot. I gave the completed manuscript to readers and former inmates and investigators. They told me that I wrote as if I had been there. They indicated to me some things I had come up with and talked about; this actually happened, and that happened, even what I had thought up myself."

The conversation now started to wander. One member of the audience had not forgotten that Sveta Lukic himself had been named a member of the isolated generation. This generation was young during the war, and occupied important jobs, for which they were considered young, for quite some time after the war. Now they are becoming old for these same jobs. Their fate was discussed for a time by those present. Antonije Isakovic stated that his generation had also felt set apart. Lukic was a boy during the war. Isakovic became an adult during the war, but had served and was stationed at Ruda.

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## BRIEFS

CHILD MORTALITY IN KOSOVO--In 1980 about 4,200 children under 15 years of age died in the Province of Kosovo, or almost one-half of all deaths in the province; most of these, 36 percent, were under one year of age and death was linked to the prenatal health of the mother. The second largest cause of child mortality, 33.8 percent, is respiratory illness, followed by infectious disease, 18 percent, and premature birth, 11 percent. [Excerpt] [Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 11 Feb 82 p 10]

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